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ABSTRACT

In times of social change, the major institutions of a community undergo sometimes drastic modifications, even restructuring. Institutions such as education, government, and the family go through many interim stages before reaching a static point. If a pattern of these changes can be established, or if a cause and effect relationship can be determined, the benefits to the community can be heightened. The purpose of this report is to delineate the characteristics of community power structures within a changing community in order to help community leaders expedite programs during those periods of social change. The report identifies the community power figures in Central City and determines the characteristics common to these people. Social problems and community needs are analyzed comparing the views of the identified power figures and a sample of the community at large. There is also a consideration of the characteristics of community power structures that tend to inhibit or facilitate changes in occupational education and of implications for social action in relation to occupational education. The report concludes that a core of community power should be developed to attain the goals of occupational education, within the broader goals of the community. (Author)

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COMMUNITY POWER AND SOCIAL CHANGE: A CASE FOR SOCIAL ACTION WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION

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NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY AT RALEIGH
1969

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COMMUNITY POWER AND SOCIAL CHANGE: A CASE FOR SOCIAL ACTION WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION

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CENTER FOR OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION
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PREFACE

In times of social change, the major institutions of a community undergo sometimes drastic modifications, even restructuring. Institutions such as education, government, and the family go through many interim stages before reaching a static point. If a pattern of these changes can be established, or if a cause and effect relationship can be determined, the effects on and benefits to the community can be heightened.

The purpose of this report is to delineate the characteristics of community power structures within a changing community in order to help community leaders expedite programs during those periods of social change. The report identifies the community power figures in Central City and determines the characteristics common to these people. Social problems and community needs are analyzed comparing the views of the identified power figures and a sample of the community at large. There is also included a consideration of the characteristics of community power structures that tend to inhibit or facilitate changes in occupational education and of implications for social action in relation to occupational education. It is concluded that a core of community power should be developed for the stated purpose of attaining the goals of occupational education, woven into the broader goals of the community.

The Center wishes to thank Richard Teague for his research into the problems of social change, community action, and occupational education, and for compiling this report. Appreciation is also expressed to Dr. Joseph R. Clary, Executive Director of the State Advisory Council on Occupational Education, Raleigh, North Carolina, and to Dr. B. Eugene Griessman, alumni professor and Head, Department of Sociology, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama, for reviewing the report. The Center acknowledges the help of Mrs. Sue King in editing the manuscript and thanks the entire Center staff for their efforts toward its final production.

John K. Coster
Director

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INTRODUCTION

Man and his observations of the universe has long been both intrigued and challenged by the problem of order. Because there is an inescapable temporal aspect to life as man both observes and experiences it, he has become aware that order is not a static phenomenon but may be perceived more accurately as a dynamic process characterized by infinitely numerous continuities and discontinuities.

This awareness and man's endeavor to cope with continuity and discontinuity within the prevailing order of the universe are evident within the rhetoric of modern science. For example, terms such as equilibrium, stability, constancy, relationship, etc. are tools used by the scientist to denote continuity. Likewise, terms such as process, development, growth, and a host of words ending in a-t-i-o-n (e.g., modification, mutation, industrialization, urbanization, etc.) are tools employed by the scientist to denote discontinuity.

It is not surprising that the earliest advocates of a "science of society" should focus upon problems of continuity and discontinuity. Both Comte and Spencer represent early exponents of this concern with their respective emphases upon phases, states, and processes of evolution within the social universe. Consequently, the concept of "social change" has become the shibboleth of contemporary sociology and remains one of its most fundamental challenges.

Research Problem

The research problem for this study is the delineation of salient features and characteristics of community power structures within a community manifesting a changing economic base and concomitant social changes; in the present case, a community characterized by transition from a typically rural, agrarian economic base to a more diversified, industrialized one. A major objective of this study is to refine conventional methods and techniques, and to develop new techniques pertinent to the identification and analytical description of power structures within communities and to changes within power structures over time. A second objective is to develop a conceptual framework amenable to the problems of better understanding the phenomena of community power within the context of social change. A third objective is to point up implications of the findings of this study for community action programs.

Purpose of the Study

The primary significance of the attainment of the research objectives stated above is academic in that such attainment will facilitate greater understanding of power on the community level. However, it is hoped that the findings of this research will have value for community positional leaders who are charged with the responsibility of expediting action programs vis-a vis social change. The purpose of the study is thus twofold: (1) to make a contribution to the reservoir of knowledge in the area of community power and (2) to facilitate the application of such knowledge to practical problems requiring social action at the community level.

Setting for the Research

The research reported in this paper was undertaken in connection with a larger project concerning occupational education for areas in socioeconomic transition. The larger project was somewhat unique in that it constituted an attempt to analyze occupational education needs from a "total community" point of view and to integrate the research skills of sociologists, psychologists, and educators into a unified research effort. The total team was composed of persons representing these areas, secretaries, and several research assistants.

A location for the project was the subject of extensive planning and discussion and finally the staff agreed upon the following qualifying stipulations: (1) The location chosen for the project should consist of a central city of around 50,000 population and its outlying trade area; and (2) the area should manifest the generally southern trends of out migration from rural areas and the transition of a typically agrarian economic base to an industrialized one.

Following these guidelines, Central City and the county in which it is located were chosen as the most suitable site for the research effort. Central City has a population of approximately 30,000 (60,000 in entire county) and is located in the Coastal Plain section of North Carolina. Although its economic base was for two centuries largely agricultural, a transition to a relatively diversified industrial base is now apparent. Tobacco is still central to the economic base of the area, but now this industry is augmented by manufacturing of textile and wearing apparel, bus and truck bodies, concrete building products, and numerous enterprises on a lesser scale. Due to Central City's location on the main lines of two railroads and strategic major highways, it is expected to become increasingly more significant as a manufacturing and distribution area in the state.

Central City manifests several of the problematic characteristics of southern communities in socioeconomic transition. The traditional tenant farmer structure of the county is crumbling under the weight of what community knowledgeables refer to as the California system of farm management. In this situation tenant farmers are displaced, migrate to urban areas and small towns, experience difficulty in finding work, and in many instances are compelled to work as day laborers in the production of various agricultural crops and tobacco. A majority of these people are educationally disadvantaged and as a group contribute significantly to the build-up of low-income residential areas in and adjacent to Central City. The city is currently hard pressed to cope with these social, economic, educational, and political problems which are further complicated by the fact of a city/county racial mixture of approximately 40 percent Negro and 60 percent Caucasian. In this context, the questions of how important community decisions are made at the local level and who makes them are crucial and constitute the research problem in this paper.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Comparison of research findings among studies of community power is extremely difficult. The most recent and best work on this problem was accomplished by Walton (1966) and constitutes an attempt to ascertain relationships among 55 community studies in relation to 29 variables. Table 1 is an adaptation of a similar table in Walton's article and depicts relationships among 54 studies with reference to 15 variables. The 15 variables listed are the most important ones in view of the objectives of the present project. A few blank cells appear in Table 1 because some of the studies are not sufficiently explicit on certain aspects to justify rigid categorization. One study of the 55 considered by Walton is deleted because the methodological orientation employed by the author was not clear. The remainder of this review of literature focuses upon methodological considerations of researching the problem of community power. Other relevant literature is discussed at various points in this paper within the context where it is most meaningful.

One of the most readily apparent aspects of the data summarized in Table 1 is the relationship of method to the type of power structure identified. As Walton concludes, the type of power structure identified when a single method is employed might very well be an artifact of that method. For example, the five studies employing event analysis as a single method manifest only coalitional or factional power structures. Likewise when the reputational approach is used alone, the most likely result is the identification of a pyramidal power structure. Of the 54 studies, 19 (35 per cent) of them manifest pyramidal power structures. Fifteen of the 19 utilized reputational methods. However, when considering the eight studies which employed the reputational method in combination with another method (usually event analysis), two of them manifest pyramidal power structures and the remaining six manifest an equal number of factional and coalitional ones. The data in Table 1 manifest no clear-cut implications of using the positional method in conjunction with either event analysis or the reputational approach. Case studies are even less explicit in the relationship between method and type of power structure identified.

Unfortunately, a power structure identified by means of either the reputational or event analysis approach singularly may very well be an artifact of that method. This bias is at least partly overcome by using the two methods in combination. In his suggestions for the development of methods more amenable to comparison among studies, Walton (1966, p. 438) suggests that "an abbreviated combination of the reputational and decision-making techniques needs to be developed to guard against the type of bias we have considered."

A second point of difficulty in making comparisons among studies is the total number of power figures identified. A brief perusal of the last column in Table 1 will point up the difficulty of assigning comparative

Table 1. Outline Summary of Studies on Community Power

Author and Date	Community	Size		Type Community				Method					Type of Power Structure				N
		<100,000	>100,000	Diversified Economy	Narrow Economy	Heterogeneous Pop.	Homogeneous Pop.	Reputational	Positional	Event Analysis	Case Study	Combined	Pyramidal	Factional	Coalitional	Amorphous	Power Figures
Hunter (1953	Regional City		x	x				x					x				40
McKee (1953)	Loraine	x			x	x					x			x			
Olmstead (1954)	Red Wing	x		x			x	x						x			
Pellegrin and Coates (1956)	Big Town		x	x		x					x					x	
Belknap and Smuckler (1956)	Community A	x			x		x	x					x				75
Fanelli (1956)	Bakerville	x			x	x		x					x				25
Scoble (1961)	Bennington	x		x			x	x				x		x			69
Miller (1958)	Pacific City		x	x			x	x					x				59
Miller (1958)	English City		x	x			x	x							x		47
Schulze (1961),	Cibolia	x			x		x	x	x					x			35
Gore and Peabody (1958)	Seattle		x	x			x				x				x		76
Vidich and Bensman (1958)	Springdale	x					x				x		x				5
Dahl (1961)	New Haven		x	x		x			x	x					x		415
Form and D'Antonio (1959)	El Paso		x			x		x							x		61
Form and D'Antonio (1959)	C. Juarez		x			x		x						x			60
Klapp and Padgett (1960)	Tia Juana		x			x		x								x	30
Smith (1960)	Northville	x		x		x		x	x				x				16
Sofen (1961)	Miami (Dade Co)		x								x					x	
Barth (1961)	Sanford		x		x	x		x					x				

Table 1 (continued)

Author and Date	Community	Size ≤ 100,000	Size ≥ 100,000	Type Community: Diversified Economy	Narrow Economy	Heterogeneous Pop.	Homogeneous Pop.	Method: Reputational	Positional	Event Analysis	Case Study	Combined	Type of Power Structure: Pyramidal	Factional	Coalitional	Amorphous	N: Power Figures
Barth (1961)	Amory	x		x		x		x					x				
Barth (1961)	Algona	x		x		x		x						x			
Barth (1961)	Sretna	x			x	x		x						x			
Barth (1961)	Milton	x					x	x								x	
Barth (1961)	Norwood	x			x		x	x								x	
Stone (1962)	Service City						x				x				x		
Martin *et al.* (1961)	Syracuse		x	x		x				x					x		
McClain & Highsaw (1962)	Dixie City	x				x				x					x		
Booth and Adrian (1962)	Community City	x			x	x		x						x			49
Miller (1963)	Lerebville	x		x			x	x							x		49
Bonjean (1963)	Burlington	x		x		x		x					x				16
Beiknap and Steinle (1963)	Watertown		x	x			x	x					x				74
Belknap and Steinle (1963)	Centralia		x	x			x	x					x				61
Krammerer *et al.* (1963)	Orange Point	x			x	x					x		x				
Krammerer *et al.* (1963)	Floriana	x			x	x					x			x			
Krammerer et al. (1963)	Center City	x		x		x					x			x			
Krammerer et al. (1963)	Eastborne	x			x		x				x		x				
Krammerer et al. (1963)	Westborne	x			x		x				x		x				
Krammerer et al. (1963)	Dorado	x			x		x				x			x			
Krammerer et al. (1963)	Hiberna										x			x			

Table 1 (continued)

		Size		Type Community				Method					Type of Power Structure				N
Author and Date	Community	< 100,000	> 100,000	Diversified Economy	Narrow Economy	Heterogeneous Pop.	Homogeneous Pop.	Reputational	Positional	Event Analysis	Case Study	Combined	Pyramidal	Factional	Coalitional	Amorphous	Power Figures
Krammerer et al. (1963)	Estiva										x			x			
Thometz (1963)	Dallas		x	x			x	x					x				67
Clelland and Form (1964)	Wheelsburg	x		x			x	x	x					x			78
Presthus (1964)	Edgewood	x			x		x	x				x			x		36
Presthus (1964)	Riverview	x			x	x		x				x		x			35
Kimbrough (1964)	Midway County	x						x				x		x			20
Kimbrough (1964)	River County	x						x							x		38
Kimbrough (1964)	Beach County	x						x					x				18
Kimbrough (1964)	Southern County							x					x				8
Jennings (1964)	Atlanta		x	x		x				x					x		133
Agger et al. (1964)	Farmdale	x		x			x	x				x	x				14
Agger et al. (1964)	Oretown	x			x		x	x				x			x		38
Agger et al. (1964)	Petropolis	x		x		x		x				x			x		61
Agger et al.)1964)	Metroville	x		x		x		x				x	x				41
Wildavsky (1964)	Oberlin	x								x				x			

meaning to the total number of persons designated as power figures in each study. One would expect that the numbers of persons representing the power structure would vary proportionally with the size of the city, the heterogeneity of the population, and the diversity of the economic base. The fact is that no such relationship is apparent in the data summarized in Table 1.

Forty persons represent the power structure of Regional City, which has a population of around 400,000. On the other hand, the studies show that half of the communities with less than 100,000 population have more that 40 power figures. One study of a community (Wheelsburg) of less than 10,000 population is reported to have 78 power figures; Tia Juana with a population of over 100,000 is reported to have only 30 power figures. The largest number of power figures reported is 415 for New Haven. When comparing this figure to 67 for Dallas, it is obvious that the authors are not describing the same phenomenon.

This problem is difficult to alleviate, but it is likely that some authors include peripheral persons in their conception of the community power structure and some include only those persons thought to be most important. For the present research project, the power structure will be discussed with reference to two pools of power figures--a reputational power pool and a positional power pool. These terms are operationally defined in the following Conceptual Framework. Only those persons manifesting a reputation for power by a significant number of community knowledgeables will be assigned to the reputational power pool; peripheral persons will be assigned to the second pool, the positional pool. A similar distinction made in all studies using reputational methods should greatly facilitate comparative analysis among them with reference to the number of persons identified as power figures.

In conclusion, Table 1 is a summary of data obtained in 54 community studies relative to the concept of social power. This data points up the fact that the type of power structure identified may be an artifact of a single method and that comparison among studies is difficilt because researchers are not always discussing the same phenomena even though these phenomena are discussed under the same or a similar title.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Social Power

By virtue of what capacity or facility within communities can individuals or groups make decisions for other individuals and groups? At first thought, the answer is clear--persons either singularly or collectively make decisions for, or with respect to, other persons because of the possession of power. The "more powerful" can make decisions either in accordance with or against the wishes of the "less powerful."

However, attaching a name "power" to this phenomenon does not account for it, nor does it denote differential sources and types of "power." It is just beyond these steps of recognition and naming that our understanding of "power" becomes less clear and consensus becomes more difficult to achieve. The major problem is one of operationalizing the concept of "power" in such a manner as to help us more accurately account for and more clearly understand the interaction taking place within a system of personalities and their sociocultural environment.

Discussions concerning power are ubiquitous in the literature of the social sciences, and about the only conclusion one can draw from them is that a generally accepted theory of power does not exist. Taken collectively these discussions constitute a body of literature manifesting statements about numerous characteristics and aspects of power which are in many cases ambiguous and in some cases even incongruous. For example, Loomis and Beegle (1957, pp. 4-5) use the term power to denote "control over others" and suggest that its many components may be classified under the two major headings of (1) authority and (2) influence. According to this conceptualization, authority is the right to control others as determined by the system, and influence is a residual category "of a non-authoritative nature...based upon skills in human relations, social capital based upon such things as past favors, superior knowledge of interrelations of members, certain types of wealth, or even outright blackmail." Whereas in this passage the authors point out that influence is a type of power, Schermerhorn (1961, p. 10) makes the statement, "power is a type of influence but not identical with it." The reader is invited to attempt to reconcile these two circulatory statements at his own risk of being countermanded by others who hold still different ideas on the subjects of power and influence. In his assessment of power in the political arena, Jennings (1964, p. 20) defines political power as "intentional attempts to exert political influence."

The above passages are cited to denote the diversity with which the concept of power is employed in the relevant literature and also to point up the need for conceptual clarification. Most authors in discussing power address themselves to the issue of legitimacy and illegitimacy, and at this point comparison among them becomes rather complicated because of semantic differences. For the most part, these discussions substantiate, although representing little improvement over, the somewhat classical bromide "authority is the legitimate right to push people around and power is pushing people around without legitimate right." Terminology differs from author to author and the adjectives used to modify basic terms differ, but in essence the authors "say about the same thing." For example, French (1956, pp. 181-194), Laswell and Kaplan (1952), Parsons (1953, pp. 92-128), and Loomis (1960) basically agree with Weber (1947) that there are two fundamental types of social power: (1) authoritative power and (2) a residual category of power which is non-authoritative.

Even though semantic comparison among authors is difficult, most treatments of the subject are logically consistent within the author's own frame of reference and constitute credible contributions to the conceptualization of power. However, the conceptualization of social power for the purpose of the research at hand departs from the traditional Weberian approach to the subject which emphasizes authority/non-authority as the crucial distinction between types of power. This departure is made in the interest of increasing the explanatory value of the concept of social power in relation to social action which takes place on the community level. The reader will note the correspondence of "social power" as used herein with Beal and Bohlen's (1964) more general theory of social action. Basically, their theory incorporates the ideas of (1) initiation of the action idea, (2) its legitimation, (3) its diffusion among a broader base of members of a social system, and (4) its execution.

Operational Definition of Social Power

Social power *per se* resides in personalities and is *the capacity for moving toward objectives or goals* which necessitates the involvement or pushing aside of other personalities according to individual or group perceptions of individual or group needs. Needs in this context are comprised of a combination of a "state of dissatisfaction with things as they are" and an "image of potentiality as to what can be done to resolve the dissatisfaction." In common parlance, social power is the capacity to get a job done, and its absence indicates inertness. A simple analogy involving an automobile may be helpful in illustrating this point. It is power which enables an automobile to move from point A to point B. If the auto does not move at all, it is inert or powerless. For the sake of conceptual clarity and utility, different types of power and different sources of power should not be confused with the definition of social power *per se*. Social power is operative at different levels beginning with that of immediate primary groups and ranging through secondary associations relative to local community, county, area, regional, national, international, and world issues. The focus of this paper is upon social power at the community level.

A Model of Social Power on the Community Level

In the preceding section, an operational definition was assigned to the concept of social power. The purpose of the following discussion is to integrate this definition and its implications into a conceptual framework for attaining greater understanding of how social power functions on the community level. The first task undertaken is that of operationalizing the concept of community. According to Mayo (1968) tha basic components of community are (1) a geographic location, (2) interacting social institutions, and (3) people and their potential to act together as an entity. Of these three, the idea of social institutions is most abstract and warrants further discussion.

Bennett and Tumin (1952) in their now classic textbook, Social Life: Structure and Function, delineate six "functional prerequisites" for the existence of social life:

(1) maintenance of biological adequacy
(2) reproduction of new members
(3) socialization of new members
(4) production and distribution of goods and services
(5) maintenance of order
(6) maintenance of meaning and motivation

The term "functional prerequisites" is assigned to these human activities because the author believes that they represent what any society must do to continue to exist. A similar idea has been suggested by Levy (1952). Mayo goes further than either Bennett and Tumin or Levy in pointing up the institutional counterparts for so-called "prerequisites."

Mayo reasons that because certain human activities are essential to the maintenance of society, or more specifically to a community, these activities are simply too important to be left to chance. Consequently, a "structure" evolves to provide "order" for such crucial activities, and these structures constitute basic social institutions common to all communities. For example, the necessity of socializing children to assume responsible roles in a community gives rise to a structure (school system) which assures order for the process of socialization according to rationally designed goals and objectives.

Mayo emphasizes eight major spheres of institutionalized activity characteristic of communities in the United States today. He refers to these as the "basic five" and "emerging three."

The basic five are:

(1) education,
(2) government,
(3) economy,
(4) religion, and
(5) family.

The emerging three are:

(1) social welfare,
(2) health and medicine, and
(3) recreation.

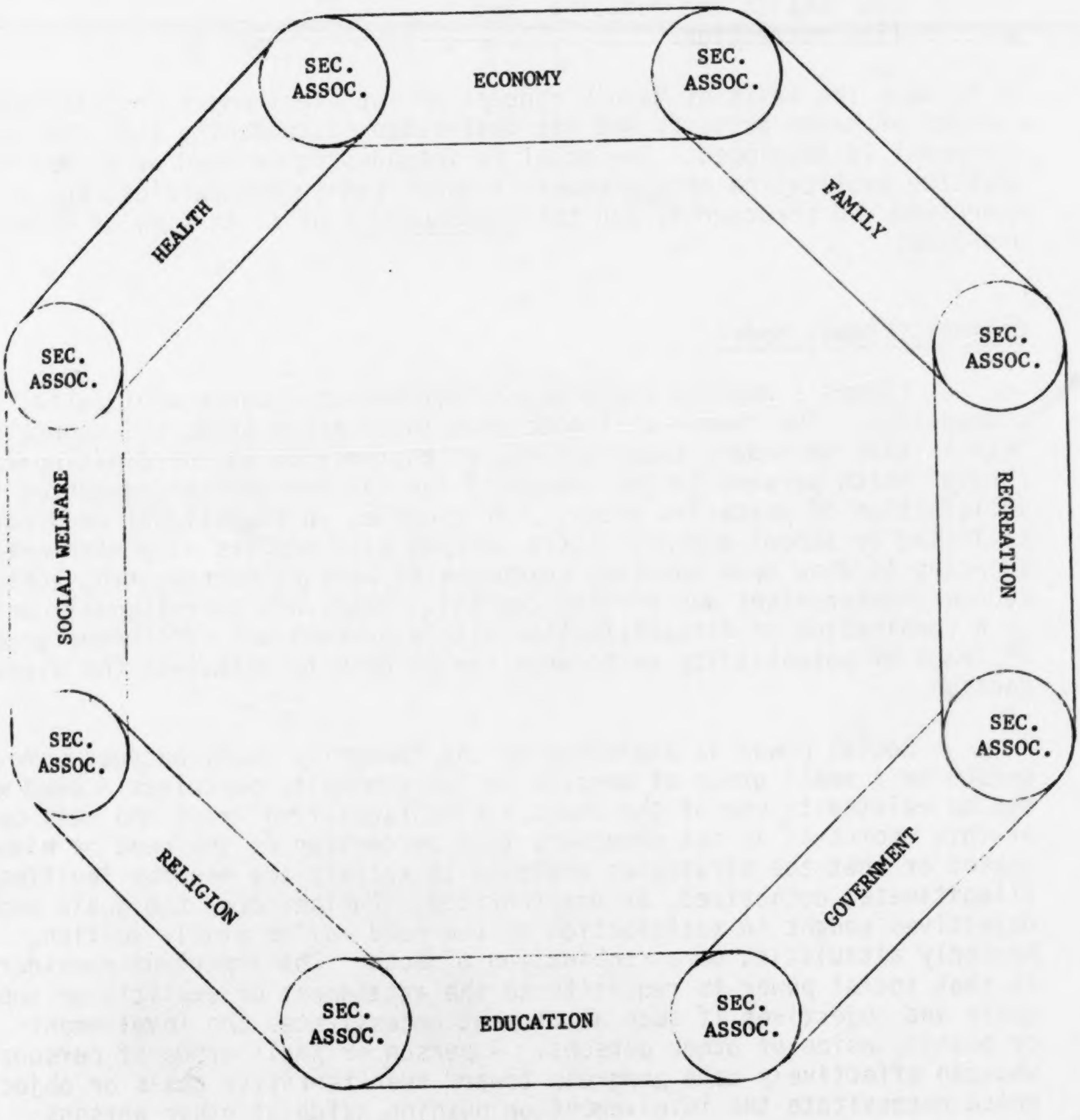
It is upon the basis of Mayo's concept of the eight major institutional spheres of human activity and his definition of community that the following model is developed. The model is intended to be used as a tool for abetting explication of why power is exercised in communities, how it is exercised and structured, and the consequences of it in view of community problems.

Community Power Model

Figure 1 depicts eight major institutional spheres of social life in communities. The reader will note that these eight areas are connected by interstitial secondary associations, which function as coordinating structures, through which persons in the community can tap and combine resources for the satisfaction of perceived needs. For example, an educational need may be satisfied by school administrators working with members of governmental agencies to draw upon monetary resources of persons representing various economic enterprises and private capital. Needs are operationally defined as a combination of dissatisfaction with a present set of circumstances and an image of potentiality as to what can be done to alleviate the dissatisfaction.

Social power is exercised on the community level because some one person or a small group of persons in the community perceives a need which can be related to one of the basic institutionalized areas and acts upon it. At this point it is not necessary that perception of the need be widely shared or that the strategies employed to satisfy the need be legitimate, illegitimate, authorized, or unauthorized. Furthermore, the goals and objectives sought in satisfaction of the need may be highly selfish, markedly altruistic, or a combination of both. The important consideration is that social power is requisite to the attainment of explicit or implied goals and objectives if such attainment necessitates the involvement or pushing aside of other persons. A person or small group of persons who can effectively make progress toward even tentative goals or objectives which necessitate the involvement or pushing aside of other persons is operationally defined as an initiating power figure, or small group of initiating power figures, respectively.

An act of power begins with the movement of an initiating power figure(s) toward a goal or objective. The goal or objective may be to prevent, block, or thwart movement of another act of power as well as to attain goals and objectives in the usual sense. Figure 2 depicts an act of


SEC. ASSOC.
ECONOMY
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HEALTH
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SOCIAL WELFARE
RECREATION
SEC. ASSOC.
SEC. ASSOC.
RELIGION
GOVERNMENT
SEC. ASSOC.
EDUCATION
SEC. ASSOC.

Figure 1. Eight Major Institutional Spheres of Social Life in Communities and Interstitial Secondary Associations

power at the community level. The reader will note that the act of power begins with a perceived need on the part of one or a very small number of power figures and involves other persons as movement occurs toward goals and objectives. As other persons become involved in the movement, either willingly or unwillingly, they yield to one of two basic types of power--suggestive power or coercive power.

1. Suggestive Power. Suggestive power entails voluntary involvement out of (1) respect for the initiating power figures, (2) respect for their position on the major issue, (3) a combination of both, or (4) the expectation of reward. In this context reward is a matter of an individual's definition of the situation relative to his involvement in the act of power and his idea of what this means to himself and/or significant others. In any event, the individual becomes involved willingly. The concept of suggestive power as used herein closely parallels or is synonymous with the traditional concept of "leadership."

2. Coercive Power. Coercive power entails involvement against one's will or ambivalence toward the situation, regardless of the apparent or implied reason(s) the individual would rather not become involved. Involvement appears to the individual to be the lesser of two or more evils, and he feels compelled to become involved even though this is in some respects undesirable to him.

Nevertheless, persons who become involved in an act of power, either willingly or unwillingly, and find themselves committed to its broader goals and objectives combine with the initiating power figures to form an action-oriented core of power. This core is dynamic in that it gains and loses members, and initiative within it fluctuates during the course of an act of power. By the time the broader goals and objectives are attained (always a matter of relative degree), the first initiating power figures may or may not be involved in the action-oriented core of power, and, in fact, the goals and objectives as well as the strategies employed to gain them may have been redefined any number of times.

In essence, the action-oriented core of power is a structure consisting of relationships among personalities committed to certain goals and objectives which evolve out of the perceived needs of one or a few initiating power figures. As a matter of principle, a structure arises to meet a need, never vice versa. Members of the core of power may facilitate attainment of goals and objectives by virtue of their action ranging from tacit approval and "talking it up" to actual "footwork."

As members of the "core" move toward the attainment of broader goals and objectives, they generate and modify more specific ones, and formulate strategies for overcoming various obstacles (e.g., lack of funds, dated legislation, conservative attitudes, etc.). Outright opposition constitutes a conflicting act of power whose participants are following a collision

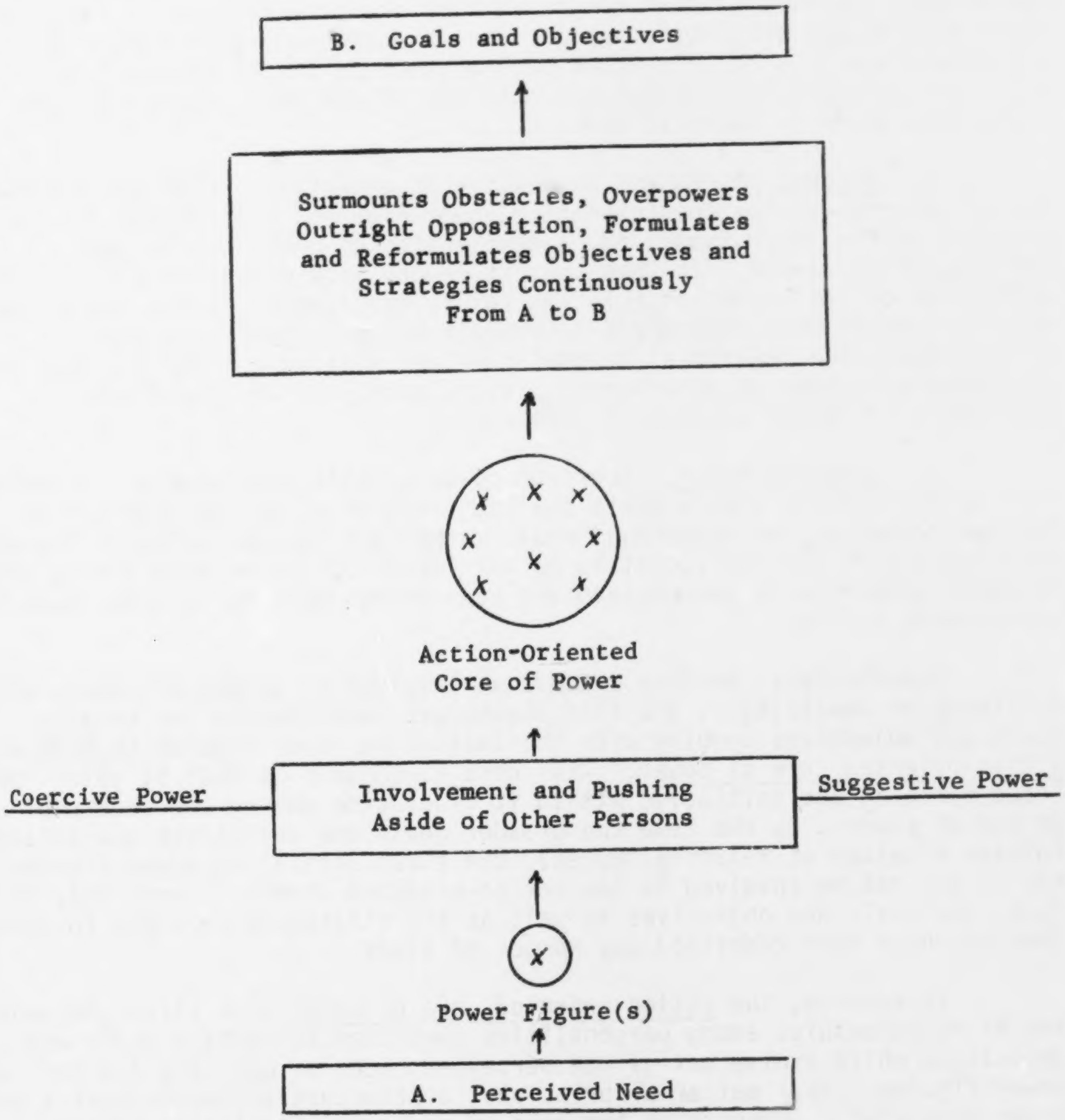

B. Goals and Objectives
Surmounts Obstacles, Overpowers Outright Opposition, Formulates and Reformulates Objectives and Strategies Continuously From A to B
Action-Oriented Core of Power
Coercive Power
Involvement and Pushing Aside of Other Persons
Suggestive Power
Power Figure(s)
A. Perceived Need

Figure 2. An Act of Power at the Community Level

course toward the first act of power. When the collision occurs, the core of greater power will prevail over the core of lesser power. Conflict may be episodic or extended and may result in the disintegration of one core of power or a breakdown to some degree, followed by numerous possible forms of recombination.

In summary, social power is the capacity of persons to involve or push aside other persons relative to the attainment of certain goals and objectives. An act of power is the movement toward these goals and objectives beginning with the action of one or a few power figures which leads to the development of an action-oriented core of power. The two basic types of power through which persons become involved in the act of power are (1) suggestive power and (2) coercive power. An act of power is complete when larger goals and objectives have been attained (e.g., from the inception of a need for a hospital to the beginning of its operation in the community or from the inception of a need for an issue of bonds to the obtainment of public support for them through a bond election).

A Brief Consideration of Authority and Legitimacy

It has been pointed out that most discussions of power in the relevant literature entail consideration of the ideas of authority and legitimacy, yet the concept of social power delineated in this paper does not. These ideas have been purposely avoided in the model because of the following considerations:

1. Social power precedes authority, which is a rationale for an act of power which may or may not be widely accepted in the community. It is the group in power who determines what authoritative action is, and subordinates compelled to follow authoritative dictates do so because they are "overpowered" rather than because of authority *per se*.

2. Authority is attached to an office and lacks permanence in the face of social power. For example, if a city purchasing agent spends public monies indiscriminately in the opinion of power figures in the community, a core of power can develop outside of the bureaucratic structure of city government and enforce limitations on the "authority" of the purchasing agent to spend public monies. Authority only exists so long as the group who defines it maintains superior social power.

3. Authority and legitimacy are both value judgments pertaining to what persons *should have* superior social power, and, therefore, they do not constitute *different* types of social power *per se*.

4. When authority and influence are conceptualized as different types of power, it is extremely difficult, if at all possible, for the investigator to determine which of the two types accounts for a particular person's action. For example, a bank executive asks a subordinate

to rewrite a paragraph of a report which is to be presented to a board meeting. The subordinate rewrites the paragraph to the satisfaction of the executive. Is his action attributable to the executive's authority or influence or a combination of both? If a combination of both is apparent, which is preponderant and to what degree? The major problem is that the two types of power conceptualized this way can operate simultaneously with reference to one person, and the explanatory utility of the concepts of authority and influence becomes ambiguous. When "power" is conceptualized as either suggestive (willingly) or coercive (against will), the two types cannot occur simultaneously with respect to one person, and distinction between the two types is more easily ascertainable in actual situations. In the case cited above and undoubtedly in many decision-making type circumstances, a subordinate follows a superior voluntarily out of respect for the person or his ideas, and the matter of authority never enters the picture.

In summary, the crucial variable in accounting for action at the community level is the degree of social power available to facilitate attainment of goals and objectives. The ideas of authority and legitimacy are secondary to social power. They connote value judgments, and they are difficult to handle as explanatory variables in empirical research. Suffice it to say that social power resides in "people" and authority is a kind of rationale or justification for acts of power attached to an "office" and the two--social power and authority--are qualitatively different.

Four Important Sources of Power

Social power is not randomly distributed among persons in a community. Figure 3 depicts four important sources of social power for an individual. These sources are conceptualized at this point largely for heuristic purposes in the development of a theoretical model of social power on a community level, with full recognition of the difficulty of operationalizing and measuring each source in empirical research.

1. Station. Statuses are positions in social space (e.g., teacher, banker, etc.) and exist in hierarchical arrangements. This hierarchical order is maintained by underlying value constructs which afford greater rewards to higher level statuses such as greater prestige, respect, and, as a general rule, greater monetary rewards. Thus, the status of a bank executive in our society affords higher prestige, respect, and income than the status of a custodian who works in the same bank or that of a garbage collector employed by an agency of city government. One's higher level status in the community constitutes a source of social power; however, power figures occupy multiple statuses concurrently. For example, the bank executive may also be a member of the Chamber of Commerce, a member of the local school board, and an officer in a local civic organization. The term station is assigned to denote the total complex of statuses occupied by an individual in a community. It is believed that these

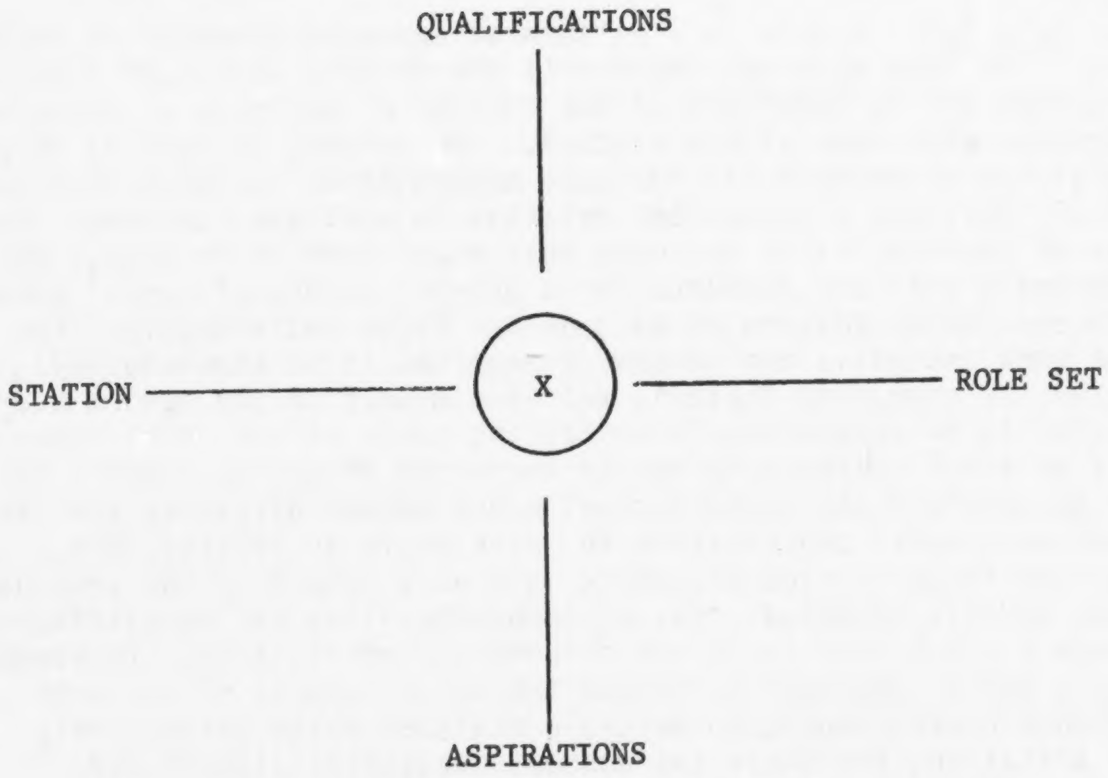

QUALIFICATIONS
STATION
X
ROLE SET
ASPIRATIONS

Figure 3. Four Important Sources of Social Power for an Individual in a Community

statuses combine in certain ways so that the total source of power represented by a power figure's station in the community is greater than can be accounted for by the sum of the amounts of power attributable to each status individually.

2. Role Set. A role is a pattern of expected behavior in relation to a status. The term role set represents the dynamic aspect of a power figure's station and is comprised of the complex of patterns of expectations associated with each of his statuses. No attempt is made at this point to distinguish between (1) multiple expectations relative to a single status and (2) multiple expectations relative to multiple statuses. As in the case of station, it is believed that roles combine in such a way that the person's role set accounts for a greater amount of social power than is represented by the sum of each of his roles individually. For example, as bank executive the person is expected to be knowledgeable in the matters of community finance, and as a member of the school board he is expected to be knowledgeable concerning needs of the local school system. If an issue arises relative to increased financial support for the school system, and the banker/school board member discusses the issue with members of a civic organization in which he is an officer, his position on the issue carries greater weight as a result of the combination of his roles and his expected areas of competency than can be attributed to his separate roles when these are considered individually. In summary, the term role set is assigned to denote the total complex of patterns of expectations corresponding to multiple statuses which collectively constitute a station, and these two concepts together--station and role set--constitute an important source of social power to persons in a community.

3. Personal Aspiration. The majority of important statuses in a community are achieved through and occupancy of them reflects, either directly or indirectly, the incumbent's personal aspirations. Rather obviously, many personal aspirations may be attributed to the achievement syndrome characteristic of large segments of the American society. However, all individuals proceed through life seeking to identify themselves with (1) other persons, individually or collectively; (2) abstract causes or institutionalized ideals; and (3) physical objects of symbolic significance, in an effort to find meaning and purpose in life and in order to support and maintain their concept of themselves. It makes no difference whether or not personal aspirations appear on the surface to be selfish, altruistic, rational, or irrational--the important consideration is that personal aspirations are contingent upon an individual's definition of the situation. They reflect significant motivating factors in his life and help to account for his occupancy in relatively important statuses in the community. Undoubtedly, some significant power figures in the community aspire to certain statuses and/or strongly identify with issues which they feel will afford them a certain measure of control over other persons, which in and of itself contributes to the maintenance and enhancement of their concept of themselves. In summary, personal aspirations underly achievement

of relatively important statuses and reflect certain identifications which help to account for the actions of power figures in the community. Personal aspirations in conjunction with the "station/role set" bundle constitute an important source of social power.

4. Personal Qualifications. Power figures are not equally powerful with respect to different aspects of social life in communities. For example, the bank executive mentioned above may be very powerful in making decisions concerning a proposed bond election, but he is powerless in deciding whether or not a colleague of his should undergo surgery. This example is given in awareness of oversimplification, but the important point for consideration is that in order for a person to be powerful with respect to a certain issue or aspect of community life, he must possess requisite knowledge, aptitudes, and skills in human relations. (Beal, et al., 1964, p. 52.). Personal qualifications of individuals may further constitute a source of social power in that they provide access to money and to other kinds of aid, both internal and external, to the local community.

In summary, social power is not randomly distributed among persons in a community. Persons in a community who actively participate in acts of power are able to do so by virtue of at least four sources of social power: (1) station, (2) role set, (3) personal aspirations, and (4) personal qualifications.

Reputational Power Pool and Positional Power Pool

To complete the community power model delineated herein, two additional concepts warrant discussion. These concepts denote two pools of power figures who exist in all communities and who figure significantly in social action at the community level.

1. In every community there is a pool of persons who are by reputation known to wield power in relation to important community decision-making processes. In many cases this pool may appear to be poorly integrated, and in most cases it is likely to be factional to some degree. Nevertheless, it exists in the minds of local citizens, especially those citizens most active in community affairs. Both the existence and significance of such a pool of persons have been documented in the studies of Hunter (1953), Miller (1958), and Thometz (1963).

This writer does not wish to suggest that such a reputational power pool comprises tha total power structure for any community. However, this pool of persons represents a significant component of the total power structure in a community and may function in the following ways. Persons who by reputation belong to the reputational power pool often (1) initiate action ideas, (2) help to diffuse them, (3) sanction or legitimize action ideas which originate outside of their pool, and

(4) execute action ideas which may originate either within or from without this pool. Following from the work of Hunter, Thometz, and Miller cited above, it is believed that persons from the reputational power pool more often function to initiate, sanction, and legitimize action ideas rather than to execute them.

The fact that all members of the reputational power pool do not participate or become directly involved in every important decision in the community does not preclude the importance of this pool. The most important consideration is that these persons acting in any number of possible combinations have the resources at hand to assert their will in the face of social action which is determined to be either beneficial or detrimental to themselves or to significant others.

2. In every community there is a second pool of persons who can not logically be assigned to a reputational power pool, but who, by virtue of their station, role set, personal aspirations, and qualifications, can make significant contributions to the attainment of various goals and objectives relative to an act of power. In common parlance, these persons are recognized as executives, professionals, managers, supervisors, administrators, or positional leaders in various voluntary associations. These men will not be known to one another _in toto_, but they are prone to become involved in acts of power from time to time according to their specific spheres of interest, competency, and responsibility associated with their various statuses in the community. Whereas the _reputational power pool_ functions primarily in initiation, sanction, and legitimation of action ideas, this second pool, the _positional power pool_, functions to a greater extent in the diffusion and execution of action ideas. They daily initiate and legitimize action ideas related to their particular and individual spheres of power which are of lesser immediate consequence to the total community, but more often they do most of the "footwork" relative to change which is of greater consequence to a larger segment of the community and change which requires support from members of the reputational power pool. Figure 4 depicts the complete community power model with the concepts of the two pools of power figures integrated into it.

Relationship of Reputational Power Pool and Positional Power Pool to an Action-Oriented Core of Power

In order for a person to be considered a member of an _action-oriented core of power_, he must initiate contact with another person or undertake a specific task with reference to the attainment of the goals and objectives of an act of power. Thus, an _action-oriented core of power_, in most cases, is composed of men from both the _reputational power pool_ and _positional power pool_. Representation from both groups will vary with the issues and their perceived importance, and in some cases may completely exclude members of the other pool. As a general rule, an action-oriented core of power engaged in a more routine and less

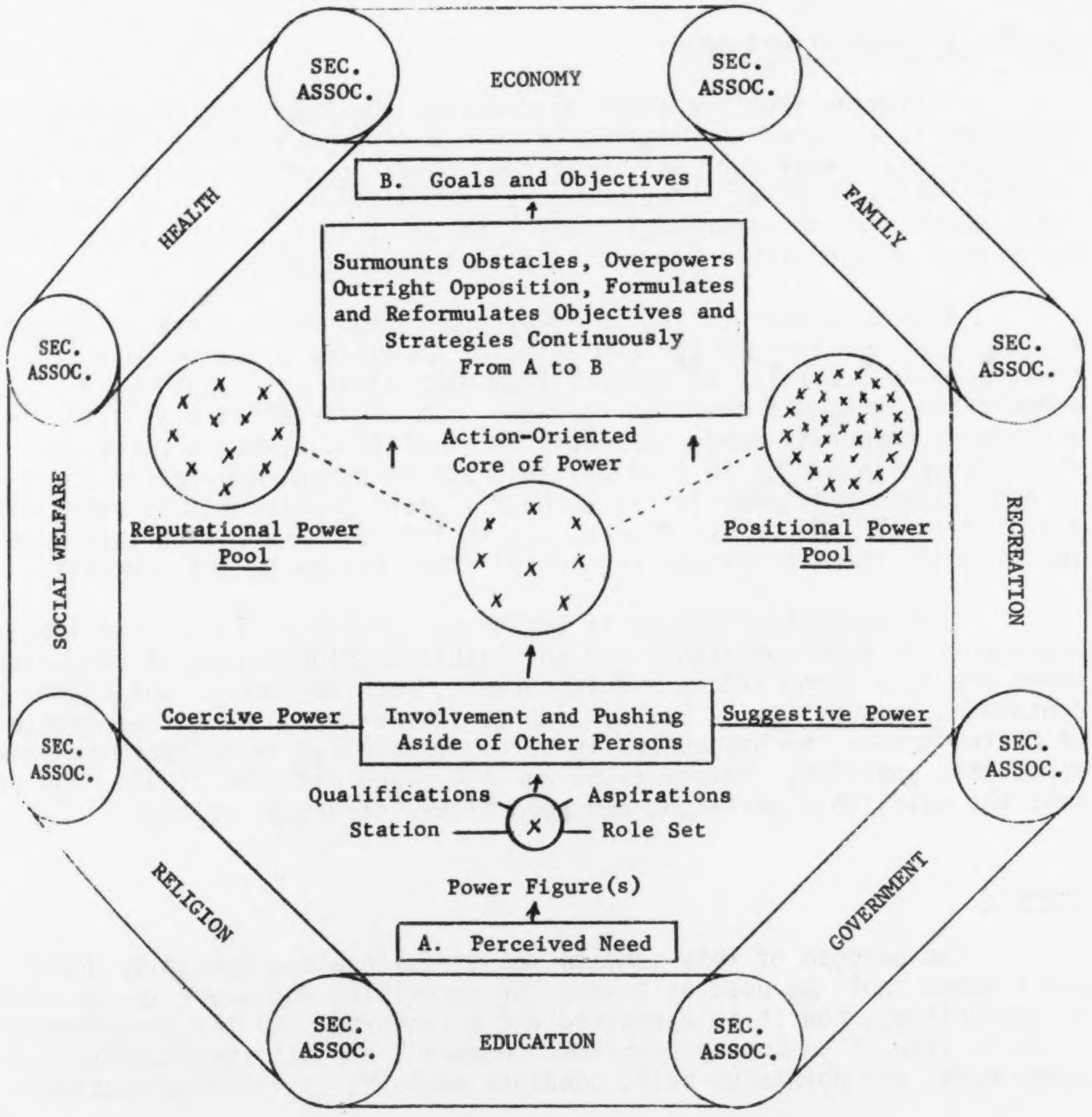

SEC. ASSOC.
ECONOMY
SEC. ASSOC.
B. Goals and Objectives
HEALTH
FAMILY
Surmounts Obstacles, Overpowers Outright Opposition, Formulates and Reformulates Objectives and Strategies Continuously From A to B
SEC. ASSOC.
SEC. ASSOC.
Action-Oriented Core of Power
Reputational Power Pool
Positional Power Pool
SOCIAL WELFARE
RECREATION
Coercive Power
Involvement and Pushing Aside of Other Persons
Suggestive Power
SEC. ASSOC.
SEC. ASSOC.
Qualifications
Aspirations
Station
Role Set
RELIGION
GOVERNMENT
Power Figure(s)
A. Perceived Need
SEC. ASSOC.
EDUCATION
SEC. ASSOC.

Figure 4. Community Power Model

consequential act of power relative to community affairs will have a majority of members from the positional power pool, whereas one involving more emotionally charged issues of greater consequence will have a significantly greater number of members from the *reputational power pool*.

Community Power Structures

Following from the above discussion, the term *community power structure* is assigned to patterns of relationships within and between a *reputational power pool* and *positional power pool* relative to community affairs. Thus, a power structure in a community is dynamic in that the relationships which comprise it vary with the issues and the perceived importance of the issues among significant power figures.

Acts of power are initiated by power figures as a result of perceived needs and lead to the evolution of an action-oriented core of power usually comprised of members from both power pools but whose composition changes from issue to issue. It would be fallacious to describe a community power structure in monolithic terms, because one would generally expect to find multiple action-oriented cores of power in operation simultaneously regarding different affairs of the community. The plural form, power structures, is, therefore, more appropriate than the singular form for discussing social power for an entire community.

This conceptualization is built upon a combination of the ideas of proponents of both monolithic and polylithic considerations of community power and to a large extent should serve to resolve some of the points of contention between them. Perhaps due to some unfortunate misrepresentation of Hunter's work, he has generally become recognized as epitomizing the monolithic position; Polsby (1960 and 1962) and Jennings (1964), who represent the polylithic position, are some of his strongest critics.

Summary

The purpose of this section was to delineate a community power model which could be used as a tool for describing why power is exercised in communities, how it is exercised and structured, and the consequences of it in view of community problems. Figure 4 depicts the complete community power model and points up basic concepts employed in its construction.

METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATIONS

The research problem for this study is the delineation of salient features and characteristics of community power structures within a community manifesting a changing economic base and concomitant social changes. The plan of the study is to seek some of the answers to the guideline research questions posed below through reasoning back and forth between (1) the stated conceptual framework and methods, and the data, and (2) the developing conceptual framework and methods, and the data.

Type of Study

This study is fundamentally an analytical and descriptive one on the subject of community power and the implications of community power structures for social action programs. It is exploratory in terms of some of the questions entertained and formulative in terms of conceptual development and methodological refinement. It is not a case study *per se*, but rather it is an intensive study of selected aspects of social power and social action in one community. Some authors have referred to this type of study as the analysis of "insight-stimulating" examples (Selltiz, *et al*., 1961). These authors discuss three distinctive features of such an approach which make it appropriate for evoking insights: (1) the attitude of the investigator--one of alert receptivity and of seeking rather than testing, (2) the intensity of the study of the phenomenon selected for investigation, and (3) the reliability of the integrative powers of the investigator and his ability to draw together many diverse bits of information into a unified interpretation. This type study is, therefore, constantly in a state of reformation as new information is gained and the kinds of data collected change as the study progresses.

Methods for Identification of Power Figures

There are three basic methods of identifying power figures in a community: (1) positional, (2) reputational, and (3) event analysis. As was pointed out in the review of literature, the type of power structure identified may in large part be dependent upon the basic method employed. To alleviate this problem, and following the suggestion of Walton (1966, p. 438), a combination of two of the basic methods is employed in this study--(1) reputational and (2) event analysis.

Critics of the reputational method (e.g., Polsby and Jennings) generally argue that a reputation for power is not equal to power *per se*, and that to really understand patterns of power the researcher must identify the persons who actually take part in making specific community decisions. Thus, critics of the reputational approach generally favor event analysis. However, if "behind the scenes" men are in fact significant in the power structures of a community, investigators using the event analysis approach alone are more likely to overlook them than are investigators who use the reputational approach. Both approaches have advantages and disadvantages, and it is posited herein that a combination of the two is superior to either one individually. The positional method, which focuses upon power represented by offices and formal organization, is less relevant to the purposes of this study and will not be employed in it.

The reputational approach directly samples the phenomenon under investigation. Therefore, it has at least face validity for identifying community power figures. This point must be accepted unless one argues that persons relatively active in the more important affairs of the community cannot meaningfully identify those persons who are most often successful in realizing their wishes relative to act of power. To argue this point, one must contend that active participants in community affairs are not capable of knowing who "calls the punches" even in their own community--yet certain key individuals among themselves are approached regularly for the purpose of legitimizing policies and practices pertinent to community life.

A more tenable position is that a consensus among active participants in community affairs is indicative of an "active participant consciousness" or awareness of power structures, regardless of the intricacies of those power structures. The reputational approach has the advantage over event analysis in ascertaining whether or not a consensus exists and is more likely to identify those persons who try to stay out of the limelight in the actual execution of action ideas.

Guideline Assumptions

1. In the community under investigation, there are a number of persons who are by reputation known to wield power in community decision-making processes.

In the event the data support this assumption, such persons will be referred to as the "reputational power pool," and relationships among them will be regarded as a significant component in community power structures. Persons identified by the reputational method who do not receive a sufficient number of mentions to qualify as members of the reputational power pool will be assigned membership to the "positional power pool" following the conceptual framework discussed in the preceding section of this paper. It is not expected that all members of the positional power pool will be identified through the reputational method, nor is it important to the purpose of this study to attempt to identify all members of this pool.

Power figures will be identified by a panel of persons active in the affairs of the community and who hold positions conducive to an awareness of social power relations. The final panel will consist of everyone who submits a list of the names of persons who they believe qualify as power figures. The interviewing of such persons and the reputed power figures nominated by them will continue until it is believed that additional interviewing will yield no additional significant information relative to the constituency of a reputational power pool.

2. In the community under investigation, there are certain events which illustrate the functioning of power figures relative to community decision-making processes.

Event analysis will be employed in this study to sharpen the data, to avoid some of the disadvantages of using the reputational approach alone, and to help illustrate the dynamics of social power on a community level. Event analysis will also be employed to identify members of a particular action-oriented core of power and to illustrate how members of it function in an act of power. An action-oriented core of power will usually be composed of members of both the reputational and positional power pools.

3. The constituency of an action-oriented core of power will vary with the seriousness of the issues, and such variation can be illustrated through event analysis.

The investigator expects to find that an action-oriented core of power engaged in a more routine and less consequential act of power, as viewed by members of the reputational power pool, will have a majority of members from the positional power pool. On the other hand, a core of power engaged in a less routine and more consequential act of power, as viewed by members of the reputational power pool, will have a greater number of persons from the reputational power pool and, in some instances, will exclude members from the positional power pool.

4. The concepts of (1) station, (2) role set, (3) personal aspirations, and (4) personal qualifications may be employed separately or collectively as a heuristic device for facilitating a better understanding of how persons attain power in a community.

The reader may refer to the Conceptual Framework for a definition and discussion of the concepts listed in this assumption. The investigator expects only illustrative results from this assumption because of the complexity and enormity of the problem. For example, the complete role set described for just one individual would consume more space than can be alloted to such enterprise in this study. Also because of time and fieldwork conditions, no instrument will be constructed for the systematic analysis of aspirations. Hopefully, better methods of approaching such phenomena will evolve out of the research process per se.

> 5. An act of power (1) originates in a perceived need, (2) is initiated by a power figure or group of power figures, (3) involves other persons either according to their will or against it, and (4) gives rise to an action-oriented core of power which overcomes various obstacles and overpowers outright opposition in moving toward the attainment of goals and objectives relative to the perceived need.
>
> 6. Perceptions of needs will differ among community residents according to selected variables such as sex, race, educational attainment, social participation, and occupational rank.

Perception of needs will be analyzed for a sample of community residents and then compared to perception of needs among members of the final panel comprised of community knowledgeables and power figures.

> 7. Perceptions of the identity of power figures will differ among community residents according to selected variables such as sex, age, race, educational attainment, social participation, and occupational rank.

Unfortunately, little is known concerning the awareness of power structures among typical community residents. Most investigators employing reputational methods for identifying power figures rely upon the opinions of a panel of experts. However, Sollie (1966, pp. 301-309) obtained lists of leaders from both a "panel of experts" and a 20 per cent sample of residents of a rural community in Mississippi. He found that the sample of residents confirmed 85 per cent of the names of leaders obtained from his panel. Sollie's findings will be compared with those of this study, but such a high degree of confirmation is not expected because of the greater heterogeneity of the community under investigation and the limitations of a relatively smaller sample size. The investigator expects that residents who are better educated, who manifest higher levels of social participation, and who hold more prestigious jobs will confirm a greater percentage of the names obtained from the final panel than will persons ranking relatively lower on these variables.

Test Variables for Assessing Association among Selected Attributes of Power Figures and Community Residents

Social Participation. Intensity of social participation in organizational activities will be assessed by means of a modified Chapin (1938) scale. A score of one (1) will be assigned for membership, two for attending one-fourth or more of the meetings, and three for having a committee assignment or holding an office. A maximum score of six will be possible within one organization, and the sum of the scores derived from membership in multiple organizations will constitute an individual's social participation intensity score.

Occupational Rank. The measure of occupational rank employed in this project will be a revision of the 1947 North-Hatt scale revised in 1963 by Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi (1964, pp. 290-292). This scale was developed under the auspices of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), and its major dimension is occupational popularity or possibly "occupational prestige."

Ninety specific occupations are ranked, and the scores range from 94 to 34--hence, there are several ties which make highly accurate rankings impossible. Many jobs found in Central City are not ranked, which further reduces the sensitiveness of this instrument. Nevertheless, it will be used as a crude index for ranking occupations because it appears to be the best instrument of its kind currently available. Occupations in Central City not listed on the instrument will be ranked in relation to similar prestige level occupations appearing on it by two persons. The differences will be reconciled by a third person.

Father's Occupational Rank. Using the instrument discussed above, the relationship of occupational rank of reputed power figures to those of their fathers will be investigated.

Educational Attainment. Years of elementary through high school education will be scored 1-12, and additional continuous integers will denote the number of years of education beyond high school.

Additional Test Variables. The following self-explanatory variables will be used to help ascertain other distinctive characteristics of community residents and power figures: sex, race, and length of residence in the community.

Guideline Research Questions

1. Does a reputation for power constitute actual power?
2. Do shifts in power relations occur as the economic base changes?
3. Upon what bases do persons in the community develope a reputation for power and hence attain membership in a reputational power pool?
4. How do Negroes fit into the community power structures?

5. Do power figures and typical residents manifest similar perceptions of the major needs of their community?
6. Why do some social action programs succeed while others fail?
7. What characteristics of power structures in the community tend to inhibit or facilitate changes in occupational education?

Summary

The objective of this section was to state the major methodological orientations which will be employed to ascertain the salient features and characteristics of power structures within the community and implications of these for execution of social action programs. Due to the exploratory and formulative nature of the research problem, refinement of methods will occur throughout the duration of the project.

IDENTIFICATION OF SOCIAL POWER FIGURES

When employing the reputational approach in the identification of power figures, the investigator is confronted with a basic problem of selecting a panel of persons who will in turn provide names of persons who they believe have a significant impact upon vital decision-making processes within the community. The term "panel" is operationally defined as the total number of persons who submit a list of names to the investigator. It is important that persons comprising this panel represent a wide variety of interests in the community in order to avoid biasing the results and that they be significantly nearer to vital decision-making processes than a typical community resident. This latter point requires that panel members either participate on committees, councils, and commissions where community decisions are consummated by vote or that they occupy positions within or maintain affiliations with groups of persons who for various reasons are more inclined than a typical community resident to critically analyze a particualr community issue in terms of who makes or influences crucial decisions.

Lists of names (reputed power figures) were obtained from 36 individuals. A partial list of types of positions occupied by these panel members includes the following: city and county commissioner, city and county school administrator, city-county planning board member, county industrial council officer, city and county official, Chamber of Commerce officer, attorney, civic and service club president, minister, newspaper editor, county extension agent, college and technical school administrator, bank executive, political party officer, and various positions related to private specialized business, real estate, and insurance. Some panel members qualify for more than one position listed above and some occupy positions not listed above; therefore, the list is illustrative rather than exclusive or comprehensive.

Panel members were asked to name persons who they thought were generally influential in vital community affairs. They were encouraged to think in general rather than specific terms, so the names obtained were not organized according to specific issue or area (i.e., governmental, industrial, religious, etc.). Since members did not have a prepared list of names from which to make selections, their responses were extemporaneous. The purpose of the general and unstructured nature of the question "Will you give me the names of some of the people in Central City and County you think have a lot of influence in important decisions about city and county affairs?" was to ascertain whether or not a consensus exists among a panel of individuals actively involved in the affairs of their community. The question generally induced a moment of thought for the respondent after which additional probes were contributed by the investigator to insure generality. A typical response which occurred repeatedly is "Well, in a list of persons like that you would have to include John Doe, Fred Jones, etc." Respondents were encouraged to list 7 or 8 names. The final range was from 3 to 17 names, and not one respondent refused to answer the question.

After the lists of names were obtained, respondents were encouraged to discuss the persons on their list in any way they believed would help the investigator achieve a better understanding of influence and power relationships in Central City and County. Respondents were assured that their responses would never be connected with their names in a published report, and most talked freely about the persons they named. Some became very engrossed or noticeably self-involved as they talked and raised frequent questions, as if they, too, were sincerely interested in achieveing a better understanding of power relations in their community. Typical probes interjected by the investigator are as follows: "Why or how is John Doe influential? What is your impression of John Doe? How do you explain John Doe's activity? Does John Doe seem to be becoming more or less influential? Why?" Discussion of these men and their activities in connection with comments about notable changes (respondent's idea of notable change) in the leadership and power structures of the community over the last decade or two resulted in rather lengthy interviews. The average length of interviews was almost two hours, and the range was from 1 to 4 1/2 hours. When the respondent appeared reluctant to talk freely, the investigator attempted to get him involved in some way, using such comments as, "Do you consider yourself to be a community leader?" or "I hear that you were involved in such and such matter." In some instances, the investigator introduced a "could-be-scandalous or self-incriminating subject" into the conversation which "opened-up" the respondent. This became a very useful technique after a few interviews, because the respondent generally believed that since tha investigator possessed knowledge about such a matter, it was best for him to have the full and unadulterated truth. The reader will be interested to know that this technique uncovered several differences of opinion and in many instances a lack of mutual understanding, but in no case was blatant corruption or tampering discovered.

The investigator's next step in ascertaining reputed power figures following the interview was to prepare a list including every name mentioned and then to indicate additional times mentioned with tally marks. The 36 panel members named a total of 104 men. Of the 104, 44 received only 1 mention, and 20 received two mentions. No case for consensus among panel members could logically be made for the 64 persons mentioned by one or two panel members. These names were deleted from the list of reputed power figures leaving the names of 40 persons who had been mentioned by 3 or more panel members. Table 2 indicates the distribution of mentions among the list of 40 reputed power figures. The decision to retain names receiving three mentions is somewhat arbitrary, although the number of persons receiving three mentions is considerably smaller than for persons receiving 1 or 2 mentions. Intuitively, mentions by 3 respondents connotes at least some degree of consensus, whereas 2 mentions is more easily questionable. Further analyses presented below lend a higher degree of precision and confidence to the acceptance of a list of persons who may be designated as members of a reputational power pool.

Inspection of the list of 40 persons mentioned by three or more panel mambers revealed that 22 of them had not been on the original panel of 36. A "closed system of mentions" (i.e., a situation in which all 40 persons receiving three or more mentions would also submit a list of names) was desired by the investigator in order to sharpen the information and lend precision to the identification of persons who may be regarded as members of a reputational power pool.

Table 2. Distribution of Mentions Among 40 Reputed Power Figures

Number of Mentions	Number of Reputed Power Figures	Percent
14 - 32	7	17
6 - 9	7	17
5	6	15
4	12	30
3	8	20
	Total 40	99

The additional 22 persons were contacted through the mails and asked to submit background and social participation information on themselves as well as to "list several persons who are generally influential in important community affairs. These are to be persons with a rather broad and general reputation for being able to get things done--regardless of whether or not you agree with all of their policies." Within ten days, responses were received from 13 of the 22, and a return to the field for personal contacts yielded four additional responses for a total of 17. Two of the remaining five were out of town and the investigator lacked additional time for contacting the others. Of the five persons not responding, one received 7 mentions, another received 5 mentions, and the remaining three received three mentions each. After reviewing all the information available on these men in the investigator's files and after considering from whom each one received mentions, the investigator decided that the absence of responses from these men would not seriously affect the feasibility or validity of considering the responses of the panel members within the context of the closed system explained previously. Only one of the men (the one who received seven mentions) would have been notably interrelated with the upper level reputed power figures discussed below, and he was out of town at the same time field work had to be terminated. To the original 36 panel members, then, were added the 17 new ones.

A primary advantage of expanding an original panel in order to establish a closed system is that the opinions of reputed power figures become more heavily weighted. In the present study, 35 of the 53 final panel members are mentioned three or more times by the members of the original panel. The "advantage" is founded upon the logical assumption that the opinions of persons manifesting a reputation for being influential in vital community affairs are more valuable for identifying reputational power structures than are the opinions of persons without such reputations. Miller and Dirksen (1965) make use of this advantage by arbitrarily assigning numerical weight to the opinions of persons receiving the highest number of mentions. For example, a weight of 10 is added to the mentions by the person at the first rank, 9 to the second, 8 to the third, etc. In this way Miller and Dirksen achieve a new rank order of leaders which they believe is more meaningful than the first one. Bonjean (1963) is one of the earlier proponents of weighting the mentions of high ranked reputed power figures, and his work served as a foundation for Miller and Dirksen's work.

Two persons receiving relatively high numbers of mentions are not included among the reputed power figures named by the 53 members of the final panel. These are the Central City Manager, who received 17 mentions, and the owner-editor of the Central City Daily Times, who received 13 mentions. These two persons are not included in the regular analysis of the reputational power pool for Central City because of the unique opportunities to influence decision-making processes afforded them by their positions. In essence, these two persons are atypical of the reputed power figures listed by the panel members.

The city manager is a full-time professional employed by the city to administer the business affairs of the city and its fringe. In this position, he is expected to make recommendations requiring decisions by the city commissioners. Because it is a part of his professional role to interject opinions and professional advice into the decision-making processes vital to the welfare of the city, his role behavior in the vital affairs of Central City is uniquely different from that of other reputed power figures in that community. Whereas several persons generally maneuver toward or compete for various power positions in the community, there is only one city manager, and should a change occur, his successor would most likely be recruited from outside the city.

The owner-editor of the only daily newspaper in Central City is uniquely influential through the power of the press. She is atypical of the majority of power figures in Central City in that she is almost always a spectator rather than a participant in important decision-making processes in the community. Her position affords her the opportunity to pose questions which demand the consideration of persons actually involved in decision-making, and her editorial position can be directed to evoke either positive or negative feelings toward a particular issue among her readers. Through her editorials, she constantly elaborates her conception of the needs of the community, extends challenges to various decision-making boards, forewarns of the consequences of unwise alternative decisions, and heaps verbal reward upon groups and individuals who are, in her estimation, worthy of public recognition. In these ways, it is not possible for other persons in the community to realistically compete with her for the kind of influence she can effect upon community affairs.

Both the newspaper owner-editor and the city manager are deleted from further analysis for methodological reasons only in view of the investigator's objective of devising procedures for meaningfully identifying power structures within communities and shifts of power within structures. In any consideration other than methodological, their power to influence decisions must be taken into account.

Table 3. Distribution of Mentions Among 113 Persons Named by 53 Panel Members

Number of Mentions	Number of Reputed Power Figures
32	1
19 - 25	5
8 - 12	9
6	3
5	10
4	8
3	12
2	19
1	46
Total	113

Tabulation of the responses of the 17 additional reputed power figures on the panel increased the original list of nominees from 104 to 113. The increase of only nine persons indicates a slightly higher consensus among those with a reputation for influence than among those without such reputations. Table 3 indicates the distribution of mentions among the 113 persons named by the 53 panel members. The data in Table 3 indicate marked "gaps" in the array of number of mentions from high to low between 32 and 25 and between 19 and 12. A smaller gap exists between 6 and 8. No gaps are indicated between 6 and a lower number of mentions, somewhat complicating the decision concerning what persons may meaningfully be assigned to a reputational power pool. In this case, the decision was made to include only those persons receiving four or more mentions--first, because the number of persons receiving mentions increases markedly below four mentions, and second, because several of the persons in the four mentions category are named by persons with 12 or more mentions (three of which are mutual), and a similar pattern does not exist for persons with three or fewer mentions. In effect, the decision to include only those persons with four or more mentions gives added weight to the opinions of higher level reputed power figures. Table 4 includes a rank order list of the persons (with fictitious names) receiving four or more mentions by the 53 members of the final panel.

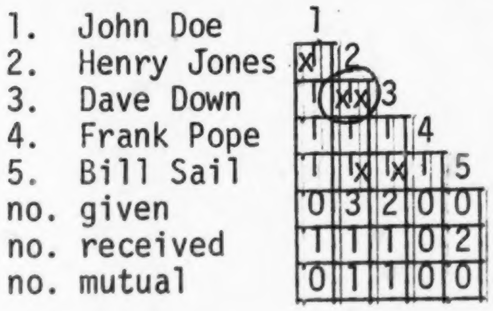
Table 4. Rank-Order List of Reputed Power Figures Receiving Four or More Mentions by the Final Panel

Fictitious Name	Number of Mentions Received	Rank	Percent of Panel Members Who Mentioned Each Power Figure (N=53)
Larry Strong	32	1	60
Bill Merit	25	2	47
Frank Young	22	3	42
Ron Price	22	3	42
George Greene	20	4	38
Wayne Elton	19	5	36
Dale Law	12	6	23
Jack Watkins	11	7	21
John Noble	10	8	19
Joe Mills	10	8	19
Charles King	9	9	17
Roy Able	8	10	15
Jim Knox	8	10	15
Sid Murray	8	10	15
Ken Eason	8	10	15
Carl Camp	6	11	11
Fred West	6	11	11
Pete Brock	6	11	11
Bill Miller	5	12	9
Jerry Bryan	5	12	9
Ben Lance	5	12	9
Glenn Allen	5	12	9
Vic Fair	5	12	9
Otis Baker	5	12	9
Elton Ford	5	12	9
Gerald Gaines	5	12	9
Bob Louis	5	12	9
Ed High	5	12	9
Tom East	4	13	8
Don Hall	4	13	8
Leo Justice	4	13	8
Ralph Day	4	13	8
Sam Denton	4	13	8
John Godwin	4	13	8
Oscar Davis	4	13	8
Doug Adams	4	13	8

A Methodological Procedure for Analyzing Responses of Fifty-Three Panel Members

The procedure discussed below has not been used previously in studies of community power, and it facilitates several kinds of interesting and revealing analyses. It facilitates a concise, graphic summary of numbers and patterns of mentions as well as providing for a means of assigning other than arbitrary weights to the opinions of persons who receive considerably more mentions.

The basic format is a conventional sociograph folded and overlayed along a diagonal line from left top to right bottom. The resulting matrix may be demonstrated by drawing vertical lines spaced about equally with the horizontal lines on a sheet of ruled paper and folding the sheet diagonally from the upper left corner to the lower right one. Holding the folded sheet before a light, the position of the fold may be adjusted so that each vertical column drawn on the sheet is divided into two columns by the previously horizontal lines. A resulting matrix is illustrated in Figure 5. The matrix is structured so that a high incidence of mentions and mutual mentions among a particular group of persons will assume the form of a cluster of "x's" at some particular point in the matrix.



Record mentions given in left half of squares across rows and in right half of squares down columns.

Read mentions received in right half of squares across rows and left half of squares down columns.

Note: Henry Jones mentioned John Doe, Dave Down, and Bill Sail. Dave Down mentioned Henry Jones and Bill Sail. A mutual mention by Down and Jones is indicated by circling their responses.

Figure 5. A Matrix for Analysis of Mention Patterns Among Reputed Power Figures

Employing the above format, a matrix was constructed for the 36 persons receiving four or more mentions by the final panel (Table 5). The reader will notice the high incidence of mentions given and mutual mentions among the top 15 reputed power figures. This is indicative of a relatively high degree of consensus among the top reputed power figures in terms of the persons they believe have the capacity to affect decision-making processes within the community. The high concentration of mentions and mutual mentions cannot be interpreted as relationships among a clique who "run the community" or as a graphic description of a pyramidal power structure with one or two men at the apex. No such clique exists for Central City and County! In many instances, men ranked

Table 5. A Closed System Matrix Depicting Mention Patterns Among 36 Reputed Power Figures Receiving Four or More Mentions from 53 Final Panel Members

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		13		14		15		16		17		18		19		20		21		22		23		24		25		26		27		28		29		30		31		32		33		34		35		36	
1. Larry Strong																																																																								
2. Bill Merit	(xx)																																																																							
3. Frank Young	(xx)		(xx)																																																																				
4. Ron Price				x																																																																			
5. George Day	(xx)		(xx)				x																																																														
6. Wayne Melton	x		x			x	x		x																																																												
7. Dale Law				x	(xx)		(xx)																																																														
8. Jack Watkins	(xx)		(xx)				x				(xx)																																																									
9. John Noble			x				x																																																															
10. Joe Mills	(xx)		x		(xx)			x	x		(xx)		x		x																																																					
11. Charles King			x		x						x		x						(xx)																																																		
12. Roy Able	(xx)				x			x	x							x				x		x																																														
13. Jim Knox		x					(xx)				x		(xx)			x								x																																												
14. Sid Murray		x							x			x																																																								
15. Ken Eason																x																																																				
16. Carl Camp	x								x											x						x			x																																							
17. Fred West	x						x							x			(xx)																																																			
18. Pete Brock				x		x	x							x			x															x																																			
19. Bill Miller	x										x										x								x																																							
20. Jerry Brown	x		x		x		x		x		x						x				x			x			x		x				x		x		(xx)																																	
21. Ben Lane	x				x				x		x										x																																															
22. Glenn Allen			x		x										x					x																						x																													
23. Vic Fair									x				(xx)																																																							
24. Otis Baker				x										x																		x																																				
25. Elton Ford			x						x													x			x													x																																
26. Bob Gaines				x		x					x				x				x			x			x						x											x																													
27. Bob Louis	x		(xx)		x		x		(xx)			x					x																																																				
28. Ed High										x																																																											
29. Tom East	x		x																	x																																																
30. Don Hall	x								x								x																x					x			x																		x															
31. Leo Justice																		x																								x																													
32. Ray Knight	(xx)				x				x				x							x																						x								x					x															
33. Sam Denton						x																																																																		
34. John Godwin	x		x		x		x				x		x						x		x			x	x		x				x											x										x																				
35. Oscar Davis			x		(xx)						x		(xx)						x				x								x																																				x					
36. Doug Adams	x		x		x		x		x		x		x						x		x		x																					x																												
Given	9		10		9		4		5		8		8		7		4		13		8		6		4		1		0		5		3		2		7		13		10		4		2		0		4		6		6		0		2		6		0		5		0		11		8		10	
Received	18		16		14		13		15		12		11		6		5		9		6		7		8		4		4		5		4		5		1		2		1		2		1		3		2		4		3		3		1		1		2		4		1		4		2		1	
Mutual	7		5		5		2		3		2		5		3		1		4		1		1		2		0		0		0		1		0		1		1		0		0		1		0		0		0		2		0		0		0		0		1		0		0		2		0	

Reading key:
Mentions given, left across and right down
Mentions received, right across and left down

in the top 15 differ greatly with reference to particular issues, often distrusting the others' motives. Certainly they are not integrated into a structure of mutual amiability and friendship. The data in Table 5 depict the persons with the greatest reputation among persons near to decision-making processes as being capable of asserting their will vis-a vis various kinds of decisions which have impact upon social life in the community. When a mutual mention exists for two men, it does not necessarily indicate coalition or a will to be cooperative, but rather the mutual respect one has for the other in terms of the impact they have, or can have, upon vital affairs within the community. These men do combine forces in various ways to maximize their impact upon a particular issue as is illustrated at a later point, but it cannot be emphasized too strongly that no unified or monolithic, pyramidal power structure is indicated by the data in Table 5

Concerning the question of whether or not these men are indeed power figures, there may be a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy in the tradition of W. I. Thomas, lending credence to the belief that they are power figures. If several persons who are actively involved in vital affairs of the community believe a particular individual to be powerful, that individual's will or opinion does have significant impact upon the strategy, direction and result of decision-making processes because his will and opinion are taken into account as the decision-making processes move toward consummation. For example, it is routine in Central City for particualr action-oriented cores of power to ascertain the sources of both opposition and support for a particular issue as they move toward the attainment of their goals and plan accordingly. With regard to a particular zoning matter in Central City, a compromise goal was sought as the matter approached public hearing as a result of taking into account the opposing forces which had the power to thwart the attainment of an uncompromised goal. The compromise solution was agreed upon without direct consultation with the opposition. In another instance, an action-oriented core of power worked confidently and successfully toward the attainment of their goal to revamp the process of electing community officials because they had the power to carry the issue even in direct confrontation with the opposition. As is pointed out below, some of the higher level reputed power figures are actively involved, and constitute social power, in several spheres of community life.

Employing Matrix Analysis and the Concept of a Closed System to Quantify Shifts in Reputed Power Among Members of a Reputational Power Pool

Following the conceptualization of "power pool" presented in the Conceptual Framework, the 36 persons listed in rank-order in Table 5 may be designated as members of the reputational power pool in their community. These persons are ranked according to the number of times they are mentioned by 53 members of the final panel. As discussed at an earlier point in this section, it is logically desirable to give additional weight to the mentions of the highest level reputed power figures. The technique of matrix analysis and the concept of a closed system facilitates a means for assigning such weight without having to resort to arbitrary numerical values. Furthermore, these two conceptual tools facilitate quantification of shifts in power in a cross-sectional fashion which is illustrative of shifts in power over time, provided certain assumptions are accepted.

One requisite assumption is that persons actively engaged in decision-making processes and who rank high as reputed power figures will be more keenly aware of shifts in power at one particualr point in time than would persons further removed from the decision-making processes and who rank relatively low as reputed power figures. This assumption rests on a previous one--persons nearer the center of decision-making processes can more accurately perceive power relations than persons who function at the periphery, even though these latter persons are considerably more knowledgeable about matters of social power than typical community residents. The final panel is comprised of several persons who may be considered to be functioning at the periphery of decision-making processes, and out of the 53 panel members, only 36 of them received four or more mentions and 18 of these received mentions from less than 10 percent of the panel members. Now, examination of the data in Tables 4 and 5 reveals that three men, John Noble, Sid Murray, and Ken Eason rank relatively high (8, 10, and 10, respectively) given the number of mentions by all 53 of the final panel members, but that they are mentioned relatively infrequently by reputed power figures mentioned eight or more times. What will happen to the relative reputed power of these three men if the perception base is narrowed to maximize the opinions of top ranked reputed power figures? One should logically expect their relative rank to decrease.

In order to answer this question, the responses of the 36 persons listed in Table 5 are assumed to constitute a closed system in that, theoretically, every man receiving mentions also had the opportunity to mention a number of persons whom he believed to be power figures. Actually, responses are not available for four of the 36 relevant persons, but their "list of persons" would probably not significantly affect the pattern of mentions received by the three men in question.

Because of the investigator's desire to maximize the opinions of relatively high ranking reputed power figures in ascertaining a top level, rank-order, list of power figures, the decision was made a priori to delete all persons receiving fewer than four mentions from the 36 persons listed in Table 5. Table 6 indicates a new rank order list of 21 reputed power figures who received the requisite four or more mentions. These men are hereafter referred to as the first-level reputed power figures within the reputational power pool. The remaining 15 of the 36 are hereafter referred to as the second-level reputed power figures in the reputational power pool.

The reader will notice that the relative position of the three men in question, John Noble, Sid Murray, and Ken Eason, is lower in Table 6 than in Table 5, as expected. The difference in relative rank when the perception base is narrowed may be quantified by means of a "displacement index" computed as follows: Starting at the top of the list in each table, the number of men ranking above each man is tabulated and recorded in Table 7. The displacement index is operationally defined as the difference between the numerical values indicating the number of men of higher rank for any particular individual on two rank order lists, one of which is based on a narrower perception base. The derivation of this index value for each man is illustrated in Table 7. The index value is positive for a particular person when that person displaces previously higher ranked men and negative when a particular man is displaced by previously lower ranked men as the perception base is narrowed. Table 7 also exhibits a third rank order list with a displacement index value for each man. This third rank order list is derived from the number of mentions received when only the responses of the 21 members of the first-level reputed power figures are taken into account, narrowing once again the perception base and further maximizing the opinions of the highest ranking power figures. This third rank order list in Table 7 is utilized in all further analyses of the first-level reputed power figures.

The decline in rank for John Noble, Sid Murray, and Ken Eason as the perception base narrows is supported by other information gathered by the investigator during the fieldwork period. All three of these men are considered by community knowledgeables as members of the "old guard." All of them have been active, two of them exceptionally so, in providing leadership for their community over the past two decades, and two of them currently occupy important leadership positions in Central County government. New arrivals and some of the older power figures with a greater urban orientation toward future community development believe that the men in question and several others represent a "conservative way of thinking" most typical of the agrarian element in the community and one which hinders rapid future development of the community. For example, the "old guard" prefers to operate on a "pay as you go basis," whereas the newer, more urban-oriented element advocates the issue of bonds as a means of financing the further growth of the community. Finance philosophy is just one aspect of a readily apparent rift between city and county, urban and rural, and, generally speaking, youthful and aging power figures. Two recent events in which the more aggressive, urban-oriented group challenged the old guard and succeeded are the re-evaluation of property for tax purposes and the method of electing county commissioners on a political division basis. The existing tax structure was challenged on the basis that it provided unnecessary advantages for rural property owners, and the method of electing county commissioners has been altered to allow candidates to run on an at-large basis. Just a few years before, the county governmental structure was altered so that the size of the Board of County Commissioners was increased from five to seven members, three of these to be elected by urban residents. The existing structure opens the possibility of the total number of commissioners being elected by persons living in Central City or otherwise manifesting a similar urban orientation. One respondent remarked, "I am afraid we may have elected the last county commissioner who will represent the feelings of the farmer." Regardless of the validity of this assumption, the

Table 6. A Closed System Matrix Depicting Mention Patterns Among 21 1st-Level Reputed Power Figures Receiving Four or More Mentions from a Panel of 36 Reputed Power Figures

Reading Key:
Mentions given, left across and right down
Mentions received, right across and left down

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		13		14		15		16		17		18		19		20		21	
1. Larry Strong																																										
2. Bill Merit	x	x																																								
3. George Day	x	x	x	x																																						
4. Frank Young	x	x	x	x																																						
5. Ron Price				x		x																																				
6. Wayne Melton	x		x		x			x	x																																	
7. Dale Law				x			x	x	x	x																																
8. Joe Mills	x	x	x		x		x	x		x	x	x	x																													
9. Jim Knox		x							x	x	x		x	x																												
10. Roy Able	x	x			x		x									x	x																									
11. Jack Watkins	x	x	x	x					x		x	x				x	x		x																							
12. Charles King							x				x		x		x	x			x																							
13. John Noble			x						x																																	
14. Carl Camp	x				x											x		x																								
15. Pete Brock				x				x	x					x											x			x														
16. Sid Murray		x			x							x																														
17. Ken Eason																						x						x														
18. Fred West	x								x					x											x	x	x															
19. Bob Gaines				x				x			x				x		x				x			x			x															
20. Ray Knight	x	x			x		x						x			x																										
21. John Godwin	x		x				x		x		x		x		x		x			x			x				x				x							x				
Given	9		8		3		7		3		7		5		11		4		5		7		6		3		4		2		1		0		4		6		4		11	
Received	11		8		8		8		10		7		8		7		7		4		5		2		2		5		4		3		2		2		3		2		2	
Mutual	7		4		2		4		2		2		3		4		2		1		3		1		1		0		0		0		0		1		0		1		0	

Table 7. Changes in Relative Rank as Perception Base Narrows Illustrated by Means of Displacement Index Values

I. Panel N=53					II. Panel N-36						III. Panel N=21						
Fictitious Name	Number of Mentions	Per Cent of Panel Members	Rank	Number with Higher Rank	Fictitious Name	Number of Mentions	Per Cent of Panel Members	Rank	Number with Higher Rank	D. I. V. I & II	Fictitious Name	Number of Mentions	Per Cent of Panel Members	Rank	Number with Higher Rank	D. I. V. I & III	Direction Change
Larry Strong	32	60	1	0	Larry Strong	18	50	1	0	0	Larry Strong	11	52	1	0	0	stable
Bill Merit	25	47	2	1	Bill Merit	16	45	2	1	0	Ron Price	9	43	2	1	+1	stable
Frank Young	22	42	3	2	George Day	15	42	3	2	+2	Bill Merit	8	38	3	2	-1	stable
Ron Price	22	42	3	2	Frank Young	14	39	4	3	-1	George Day	8	38	3	2	+2	up
George Day	20	38	4	4	Ron Price	13	36	5	4	-2	Frank Young	8	38	3	2	0	stable
Wayne Melton	19	36	5	5	Wayne Melton	12	33	6	5	0	Dale Law	8	38	3	2	+4	up
Dale Law	12	23	6	6	Dale Law	11	31	7	6	0	Wayne Melton	7	33	4	6	-1	stable
Jack Watkins	11	21	7	7	Joe Mills	9	25	8	7	+1	Joe Mills	7	33	4	6	+2	up
John Noble	10	19	8	8	Jim Knox	8	22	9	8	+3	Jim Knox	7	33	4	6	+5	up
Joe Mills	10	19	8	8	Roy Able	7	19	10	9	+2	Jack Watkins	5	24	5	9	-2	down
Charles King	9	17	9	10	Jack Watkins	6	16	11	10	-3	Carl Camp	5	24	5	9	+6	up
Roy Able	8	15	10	11	Charles King	6	16	11	10	0	Roy Able	4	19	6	11	0	stable
Jim Knox	8	15	10	11	John Noble	5	14	12	12	-4	Pete Brock	4	19	6	11	+4	up
Sid Murray	8	15	10	11	Carl Camp	5	14	12	12	+3	Sid Murray	3	14	7	13	-2	down
Ken Eason	8	15	10	11	Pete Brock	5	14	12	12	+3	Bob Gaines	3	14	7	13	+5	up
Carl Camp	6	11	11	15	Sid Murray	4	11	13	15	-4	Charles King	2	10	8	15	-5	down
Fred West	6	11	11	15	Ken Eason	4	11	13	15	-4	John Noble	2	10	8	15	-7	down
Pete Brock	6	11	11	15	Fred West	4	11	13	15	0	Ken Eason	2	10	8	15	-4	down
Bill Miller	5	9	12	18	Bob Gaines	4	11	13	15	+3	Fred West	2	10	8	15	0	stable
Jerry Brown	5	9	12	18	Ray Knight	4	11	13	15	+13	Ray Knight	2	10	8	15	+13	up
Ben Lane	5	9	12	18	John Godwin	4	11	13	15	+13	John Godwin	2	10	8	15	+13	up

Table 7. (continued)

I. Panel N=53

Fictitious Name	Number of Mentions	Per Cent of Panel Members	Rank	Number with Higher Rank
Glenn Allen	5	9	12	18
Vic Fair	5	9	12	18
Otis Baker	5	9	12	18
Elton Ford	5	9	12	18
Bob Gaines	5	9	12	18
Bob Louis	5	9	12	18
Ed High	5	9	12	18
Tom East	4	8	13	28
Don Hall	4	8	13	28
Leo Justice	4	8	13	28
Ray Knight	4	8	13	28
Sam Denton	4	8	13	28
John Godwin	4	8	13	28
Oscar Davis	4	8	13	28
Doug Adams	4	8	13	28

older order has been challenged in recent years. Numerous examples may be cited to support this ascension of a newer, more aggressive, and more urban-oriented aggregate of men into the upper echelons of existing action-oriented cores of power. The technique of matrix analysis, in conjunction with the concepts of a closed system and displacement index, allows for quantification of these phenomena which otherwise might have to be reported as "impressions of the investigator."

The data in Table 8 further demonstrate the utility of these conceptual tools in depicting shifts in power relations through time (in the present case, five to 20 years). The last column in Table 7 indicates the direction of change in rank order as the perception base narrows. A displacement index value of "0" or "1" is interpreted to indicate stability of rank as the perception base narrows and a value of "2" or larger is interpreted to indicate change--either up or down depending upon whether the value is positive or negative.

Table 8. Displacement Index Values as an Indicant of Changes in Power Relations Occurring through Time

Occupational Classifications*	Direction of Change As Perception Base Narrows		
	Down	Stable	Up
Urban-oriented private business owners	0	4	5
Manager or executive of non-farm business	1	0	1
College administrator	0	0	1
Bank executive	0	1	1
Attorney (old guard)	0	0	1
Tobacconist	0	2	0
Physician (old guard)	1	0	0
Farm-allied private business owner	1	0	0
Bank executive (old guard)	2	0	0

*Subjects: Twenty-one first level reputed power figures

The "direction of change" column in Table 8 shows that four out of five of the persons decreasing in rank as the perception base narrows may be classified as old guard and/or farm-allied businessmen. In contrast, eight of the nine persons increasing in rank represent the more aggressive, urban-oriented persons who are apparently ascending in terms of power rank as the economic base undergoes transition from typically rural and agrarian to one characterized by more diversity and non-farm industry. The one "old guard" attorney who increased in rank is a State Representative. Five of the seven persons remaining stable in rank as the perception base narrows are urban-affiliated and oriented, whereas two of the seven are tobacconists who are the relatively liberal sons of two traditional tobacconists who operated the single largest tobacco warehouse in Central County. The shift in power from the farm-allied and old guard power figures to urban-affiliated and oriented ones is further illustrated by the facts that while (1) one-third of the 53 final panel members may be classified as old guard or agrarian-oriented individuals, and (2) one-third of the 36 reputed power figures named by the panel fit into the same category, (3) two-thirds of those persons who remained stable or move up as the perception base narrows are non-farm affiliated and noticeably more urban-oriented.

Upon the basis of the preceding conceptual framework, the 36 power figures identified in this section are designated as members of the reputational power pool for the community. Likewise, the remaining 77 persons receiving mentions by members of the final panel are assigned to the positional power pool and are not included in the further analysis of community power in this study. Within the reputational power pool, 21 are classified as first-level power figures and 15 as second-level power figures. Similar distinctions employed in other studies of community power should help in the analytical description of power structures and should facilitate comparison of numbers of power figures indicated by the authors of differenct studies. The nature of this latter problem is discussed in the review of literature section of this report.

The question of reliability is particularly intrinsic to reputational methods. Rank-order lists of power figures identified through reputational procedures over different points in time may be expected to manifest variation in both rank of individuals and in the inclusion or exclusion of specific individuals. The procedures employed in this study are designed to ameliorate some of the problems of reliability associated with the reputational method.

Stability is added to the data first by means of assigning relatively greater weight to the opinions of highest level reputed power figures and, second, by designating different levels within the reputational power pool. It is unlikely that several higher ranking members of the first-level rank-order list would "drop-out" if the study were replicated annually. The investigator believes that the constituency of the first level will manifest stability with the exception of the relatively lower ranked individuals who might, over time, descend to the second level or descend to the rank of the positional power pool. In essence, the probability of inclusion of specific individuals in the first level in replication studies is greater for persons of highest rank, and the probability of exclusion is greater for those of relatively lower rank. This situation points up the utility of designating second level within the reputational power pool to serve as a buffer between the first level and the positional power pool. The second level may be expected to vary in constituency over time as it both gains and loses members from and to the first level of the reputational power pool and the positional power pool. Hence, the second level enables the investigator or any student of the subject to take into account the matter of variation in constituency of the reputational power pool over time yet to meaningfully include persons in the lower echelons of the reputational power pool for whom some degree of consensus is apparent among members of the final panel at some particular point in time.

Perception of Community Power According to a Stratified Area Random Sample of 323 Community Residents

Unfortunately, little is known concerning the awareness of power structures among typical community residents. Most investigators employing reputational methods for identifying power figures rely upon the opinions of a panel of experts. However, Sollie (1966, pp. 301-309) obtained lists of leaders from both a "panel of experts" and a 20 per cent sample of residents of a rural community in Mississippi. He found that the sample of community residents confirmed 85 per cent of the names of leaders obtained from his panel. In the present study, an attempt was made to replicate Sollie's work and to compare the results. Whereas Sollie's sample confirmed 85 per cent of the leaders identified by a panel, the sample in the present study confirmed only 14 percent of the names of reputed power figures obtained from the panel.

Several factors contribute to the difference in findings between the two studies. The community investigated by Sollie was smaller, more homogeneous than Central County, and Sollie was working with a 20 percent sample in contrast to the .5 per cent sample employed in the present study. The apparent primary explanatory factor in the different results is difference in the proportional sizes of the sample. Had the sample size for the Central City study been increased from .5 per cent to 20 per cent, undoubtedly a much larger proportion of the reputed power figures identified by a selected panel of community knowledgeables would be named by the members of the larger sample of community residents. Hence, the difference in results between the two studies is primarily a function of sample size, and this kind of comparison between studies of community power will not be meaningful unless sample size and homogeneity of communities can be controlled.

Another important factor in the relatively low degree of confirmation by the sample is the apparent inability or unwillingness of community residents to name persons who they believe are influential in vital community affairs. Of 323 respondents, only 43 per cent could or were willing to list names of influentials, and most of these resided within the Central City urban area per se. Seventy-one per cent of these responses were obtained from Central City and its fringe, while only 48 per cent of the entire sample of 323 was drawn from the Central City urban areas. A major implication is that residents of Central City are considerably more cognizant of community power figures than are residents of the remainder of Central County. One would expect to find greater awareness of community power in Central City due to the centralization of city and county governments there as well as numerous other decision-making groups.

However, even in Central City the response pattern indicates a rather low degree of awareness of the individuals who influence various decision-making processes. Out of a list of 18 reputed power figures mentioned three or more times by the sample, only 5 of them are included in the list obtained from the responses of 53 final panel members. A striking difference in the names of reputed power figures obtained from the panel and the much larger sample is that sample respondents tended to mention public officials more frequently than the panel, who more often mentioned owners and executive managers of private businesses. For example, only four of the reputed power figures identified by the sample did not hold a public office at the time of this study, and two of these were a Negro businessman and a Negro dentist named only by other Negroes. The Mayor of Central City received the greatest number of mentions (34) among sample residents, but he received only one mention among the 53 panel members. Otherwise, the sample named positional leaders (namely, city and county commissioners, the city manager, the chief of police, and a few school administrative officials) which are not included in the list of 36 reputed power figures identified by members of the final panel.

The investigator expected perception of community power to vary according to levels of social participation, educational attainment, and occupational rank. Logically, community residents with higher levels of participation in secondary organizations, higher levels of educational attainment, and higher occupational rank would be more knowledgeable about matters of power than persons at lower levels on each of these three variables. This expectation is not supported by the data. There are no significant differences in the types of influential persons named by community residents according to differences in levels of social participation, levels of educational attainment, or occupational rank. Furthermore, no significant differences are apparent among race and sex categories of respondents, although there is a tendency for more whites to mention community influentials than for Negroes.

In summary, the topics discussed in this chapter are: selection of panel for identification of reputed power figures, methodological procedures in the data-gathering process related to identification of reputed power figures, matrix analysis of mention patterns and the concept of a closed system, and quantification of apparent shifts in power relations occurring through time by means of displacement index values. The matter of whether or not the methodological procedures and techniques introduced in this chapter accurately assess actual changes in power relations occurring through time is open to question. However, the validity of the procedures and techniques is supported by two independent criteria: (1) the investigator's observations of the activities of power figures within and related to decision-making processes consummated at various kinds of board meetings over an 18-month period of time, and (2) the relevant responses of 36 of the 53 panel members which focus sharply upon the kinds of changes depicted in Tables 7 and 8. Confidence in the strength of this latter criterion is justifiable in view of the fact that relevant responses are extemporaneous expressions of the respondents' view of notable changes which have occurred since the early 1940's. Had the relevant question been structured such that the kinds of changes depicted in Tables 7 and 8 constituted specific alternatives among a number of suggested choices of response, undoubtedly the proportion of supportive responses would have expanded to include nearly 100 per cent of the 53 final panel members.

The last topic considered in this chapter is the perception of community power according to the sample of 323 community residents. A comparison of persons named by the sample and by the final panel indicates that the more typical resident is more likely to name persons in public offices than panel members, who are in positions to be more knowledgeable relative to decision-making processes. Panel members more often name business owners, executives, and managers, who are apparently less visible to residents of the larger community.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF 36 COMMUNITY POWER FIGURES

In the preceding chapter, the techniques and methods employed in identification of 36 power figures are discussed. The purpose of the following discussion is to analytically describe these individuals and to answer the general question, "Who are they?"

Social power is not randomly distributed among persons in a community. The investigator expected to find that (1) power figures are different from typical community residents on several variables, and (2) correlative variation among the power figures themselves would be evident on certain dependent variables according to the independent variable of social power rank. The first expectation is well documented by the data pertaining to educational attainment, occupational rank, and social participation summarized in Table 9. Since all 36 power figures identified are white males, the comparisons in Table 9 are made only with white males in the larger randomly selected sample of community residents. The sample size is 323, 97 of whom are white males.

Both first- and second-level power figures are considerably higher in educational attainment, occupational rank, and social participation than white males in the larger sample of community residents. There is no notable difference with respect to age.

The investigator's expectations pertaining to relationships between selected variables and social power rank among the power figures are not supported by the data. Comparisons were made for the dependent variables age, length of residence, educational attainment, social participation, occupational rank, father's occupational rank, and self-perception as a community leader according to social power rank. For the most part, the 36 power figures constitute a highly homogeneous category and manifest narrow ranges of variation on the dependent variables. The narrow range of variation and large number of ties impair the meaningful use of correlative techniques of analysis. Careful inspection of the data suggests that social power rank is not notably related to any of the dependent variables listed below.

Table 9. Comparison of Median Values for Selected Characteristics of Power Figures and a Random Sample of White Male Community Residents

	Sample of White Males N=97	First-Level Power Figures N=21	Second-Level Power Figures N=15
Social Participation	6 (3*)	25	18
Education Attainment	9	16	16
Occupational Rank	69	80 (77**)	77 (77**)

* Excluding church affiliations
** Father's occupational rank

Age

Age data were gathered according to five-year intervals. Power figures do not differ appreciably in age from more typical white males in the community nor do they differ among themselves between the first and second levels. The median and modal category for both the first and second levels is 45 through 49. Seventy per cent of the power figures of both levels are between the ages of 40 and 59, and 1 person in each level is above age 65. None of the 36 power figures is less than 35 years old.

Length of Residence

Seventy-five per cent of the 36 power figures have lived in the community for more than 25 years, meaning that the large majority of them are natives. However, length of residence is not associated with social power rank and does not differ between the first and second levels of power figures. Most members of the final panel state that the entree of non-natives into the upper echelons of community power structures is a current trend within the community. The top-ranking power figure had lived in the community for only six years at the time of the study.

Educational Attainment

All of the 36 power figures have education beyond the high school level, and 80 per cent of them have college degrees. Six of the 36 have completed professional degrees beyond the baccaloureate degree.

Social Participation

A tau of .22 indicates the absence of a relationship between social participation scores based upon a modified Chapin scale and social power rank. First-level power figures tend to have higher social participation scores second level ones, but the difference is not significant. For the entire 36 persons, however, several patterns of participation and membership in local organizations are noteworthy. Some of the kinds of local organizations taken into account in the computation of social participation scores are as follows: churches, service and civic clubs, business organizations, fraternal orders, political parties, educational and cultural associations, recreational organizations, and health and welfare or charitable organizations. The following discussion points up notable patterns of social participation and membership among the 36 power figures.

Church. At least 33 of the 36 power figures hold membership in a local church and several of them serve in various kinds of leadership positions within a church. However, several of those who hold membership in a local church attend regular services rather infrequently. Table 10 indicates number of power figures according to religious denomination or community.

Table 10. Church Membership by Denomination or Religious Community for 36 Power Figures

Church	First Level	Second Level	Both Levels
1. Methodist	7	4	11
2. Episcopalian	5	1	6
3. Christian	2	3	5
4. Presbyterian	1	4	5
5. Baptist	2	1	3
6. Roman Catholic	0	1	1
7. Unknown or unaffiliated	4	1	5
Totals	21	15	36

Service and Civic Clubs. Twenty-two of the 36 power figures belong to a local service or civic club. Table 11 indicates the distribution of membership among the relevant organizations.

Table 11. Service and Civic Club Membership for 36 Power Figures

Club	First Level N=21	Second Level N=15	Both Levels
1. Kiwanis	9	3	12
2. Rotary	6	2	8
3. Jaycees*	0	2	2
a. past Jaycees	10	7	17
b. past presidents of Jaycees	2	0	2
4. Lions	0	1	1

* Jaycee memberships terminate at age 35

It is notable that 19 of the 36 power figures manifest present or past affiliation with the Jaycees. Since Jaycee memberships terminate at age 35, only two of the 36 power figures were current members. Both of them were 35 at the time of the study and near the end of their memberships. One of them was the president at the time of the study. When speaking of trends relative to decision-making processes within the community, many community knowledgeables suggested the increasing importance of the "Jaycee-types."

Country Club. Thirty-two of the 36 power figures belong to the same country club. This number includes 100 per cent of the 21 first-level power figures. Three members of the final panel independently volunteered their opinions of the importance of the country club in vital community affairs. They suggested that many community issues were discussed during "get-togethers" at the club and that many community decisions were actually consummated during such "get-togethers." For example, one respondent stated that the strategies of where to locate a new school and how to insure a preponderantly middle class, white student body were resolved on the golf course at the country club. That such issues are discussed among very influential persons at the country club is evident, but no support of the contention that the location for the school in question was decided upon at the country club could be documented. School administrative officials denied the contention altogether and explained that the location of the school was determined routinely by availability of land and location of pupils and potential pupils in an expanding area of the city.

Membership in Organizations not Taken into Account in Computation of Social Participation Scores

Directorships within Financial Organizations. This type of membership requires a substantial monetary investment and/or an executive position within the organization and, hence, is comprised of financial executives and a select group of financially solvent and economically successful men. Perhaps one of the more striking commonalities among the 21 first level power figures is that 17 of them hold directorships in financial organizations. At least five of these men hold directorships in a least two financial organizations, and all five of them have a social power rank among the top eight men in the first level. Five of the 15 second level power figures also hold directorships in a financial organization. Taking into consideration the twin facts of 100 per cent membership in the area's most prestigious country club and 80 per cent directorships in local financial organizations, the first-level power figures constitute an economically select group of men.

Educational Trusteeships and School Board Memberships. A question of particular importance to this research project is to what extent power figures are identified with and involved in matters of public education. Eleven of the 21 first-level and five of the 15 second-level men serve as school board members or trustees of institutions of higher learning. These trusteeships and board memberships suggest an avenue into the upper levels of social power for the initiation, dissemination, and implementation of action programs pertaining to public education. However, only two of the 16 positions held among the 36 power figures are with an institution with a specific occupational education referent. On the surface, there appears to be considerably more interest among the power figures who are affiliated with an educational administrative body in college preparatory and liberal arts curricula than in occupational education curricula.

City and County Commissions. The county commissioners have one representative among the 21 first-level power figures and two representatives among the 15 second-level power figures. Of considerable importance is the point that two of the three county commissioners counted among the 36 power figures manifest and represent the interests and aspirations of the more urban-oriented element in the community which has on several occasions in recent times successfully challenged the older, agrarian-oriented element. One city commissioner holds rank among the 36 power figures, and he is in the second level.

Occupational Rank. The investigator expected occupational rank to be positively correlated with ocial power rank, but no such relationship is apparent. Occupational rank for the 36 power figures ranges from 93 to 75 out of a possible range of 94 to 34 on a revised North-Hatt scale. Hence, variation on occupational rank is notably narrow, and scores cluster tightly in the upper end of the scale.

Occupational rank scores were obtained for the fathers of the power figures. Table 12 presents a comparison of occupational rank for the power figures and their fathers.

Tables 12. Comparison of Occupational Rank Between Power Figures and Their Fathers

Direction of Difference if Any	First Level N=20	Second Level N-13	Both Levels N=33
Higher Rank than Father	11	3	14
Same Rank as Father	8	8	16
Lower Rank than Father	1	2	3

*Total N for this comparison is 33 because of lack of occupational data for the fathers of 3 of the 36 power figures.

In terms of actual magnitude, there is little difference between the occupational rank of the power figures and their fathers, indicating at least some kind of hereditary privilege for most of the power figures. Median rank scores for power figures and their fathers for the first level are 80 and 77, respectively, and for the second level, 77 and 77, respectively. Generally, first level power figures reflect more upward mobility between generations than do second level power figures.

Occupational Categories Represented Among 36 Power Figures. Table 13 indicates specific occupational categories for 36 power figures. Nineteen of the 21 first level power figures must be classified as businessmen. Of the remaining two, one's major occupational sphere is health, and the other's is education. Fourteen of the businessmen are self-employed, and the other five hold executive managerial positions.

Table 13. Occupations and Occupational Categories by Major Institutionalized Spheres for 36 Power Figures

Major Sphere	First Level	Second Level	Both Levels
Economic			
Banking	5	0	5
Sales	5	2	7
Real Estate and Insurance	4	3	7
Agribusiness	3	4	7
Manufacturing	2	3	5
Attorney (Practicing)	0	1	1
Health			
Physician	1	0	1
Optometrist	0	1	1
Education			
College President	1	0	1
Recreation			
Recreation Director	0	1	1
Total	21	15	36

Among the 15 second level power figures are 13 businessmen, one recreational director, and one optometrist. Eleven of the businessmen are self-employed, and 2 hold executive managerial positions.

Self-Perception. An interesting point of this study is that 71 per cent of the 32 power figures for whom the relevant data were available considered themselves to be influential persons in their community. There is no difference in self-perception between the first level and second level, and only one person out of the 32 answered, "don't know." The acquiescence pattern is similar for the remainder of the 53 final panel members not assigned to the first and second level power pools, about 69 percent of them indicated that they perceived of themselves as influential persons in the community.

Summary of General Characteristics for Power Figures. The 36 power figures identified in this study are considerably better educated, hold more prestigious occupational positions, and more actively participate in formal organizations than do typical white males of a randomly selected sample of community residents. Two other marked commonalities among the power figures are their memberships in a prestigious country club and the relatively high proportion of their members who hold directorships in local financial organizations. Most of them belong to a church and are active in at least one civic or service club. Sixteen of the 36 power figures serve either as a trustee of an institution of higher learning or as a member of a city or county school board. Three of the power figures serve on either the city or county board of commissioners. They are very much like their fathers in occupational rank, and 71 per cent of them perceive of themselves as leaders and influential persons in their community. Seventy-five per cent of them have lived in the community for 25 or more years, although there is currently a trend toward more non-natives and short-term residents becoming more actively engaged in community decision-making processes. In terms of age, the 36 power figures identified in this study are no different from more typical white males in the community.

SOCIAL POWER AND CHANGE

Do power structures within a community change as the economic base changes? The answer to this question is an unequivocal "yes" based upon the results of the present study. This does not mean that powerful individuals of a passing era can be counted out entirely as vital forces in the on-going processes of community life, but it does mean that the balance of power shifts among certain categories of individuals over time. The major objectives of this chapter are to delineate some of the major changes occurring within power structures in Central City, to illustrate how power figures combine forces to transact community business, and to explicate how social power is structured and exercised and why the concept of a reputational power pool is utile and valid in studies of community power.

Fifty-two persons in the larger sample responded to a question pertaining to changes in power structures within the last decade or so in the community. All of them reported some change, but five persons reported that the changes they had observed were insignificant. Three of the persons who believed that very little change had occurred among power structures in the community were Negroes. Their reference was primarily to the lack of notable change among Negro leaders and the difficulty of Negro leaders in penetrating the upper echelons of white power structures.

The remaining 47 persons indicated that several highly significant changes had occurred over the last decade or so. Actually, the benchmark for notable change was the end of World War II when many residents of the area and sons of traditional families returned home. Apparently the war, the climate of war, and concomitant travel encouraged a more cosmopolitan view among a new generation of young men in the 1940's who worked vigorously to penetrate extant power structures and to effect certain changes. With a reported crusader's zeal they worked to "clean-up" some aspects of city and county governments, to build a competitive spirit in their community through a strong chamber of commerce and other organizations, and to plan for collective action to ameliorate a wide variety of civic problems. By the early 1950's, organized groups of men emerged for the specific purpose of attracting new industry into their community--practically a taboo subject in pre-war years because of the implied threat to the existing supply of cheap labor for producing tobacco.

Of the 47 persons claiming significant change within community power structures, 27 (57 per cent) mentioned diversification of power as a concomitant trend to the diversification of industry in their community. For example, one respondent summarized the change as follows: "Good outside people are coming into Central City and we are getting away from the aristocratic, hand-me-down-from-father-to-son bluebloods." The second most frequently mentioned change (mentioned by 51 per cent of the relevant respondents) was that of a trend toward the entree of younger men into power structures. Emphasizing this trend toward younger men as well as the one toward greater diversification, one respondent stated that power "has moved out of the hands of the large land owners and the tobacconist to the younger, self-made men." Other notable changes listed in the order of frequency of mentions were as follows: (1) the declining influence of traditional families and the emergence of less affluent persons relative to community decision-making processes, (2) the increasing significance of non-natives, and (3) the tendency of newer power figures to be better qualified to hold positions of leadership within the community.

Some Characteristics for Acceptance among Power Figures. Relatively late in the interviewing process, the investigator decided to probe for a perception of "what it takes" to become accepted among upper level aggregates of power figures. Responses were obtained from 21 reputed power figures, 50 per cent of whom reported that probably the most important characteristic for entree into the upper echelons of community power structures was a demonstrated ability to "make money." Several persons noted that wealth per se was currently less important that in the past and that men with inherited wealth were required to demonstrate their ability for managing it successfully before penetrating higher order power structures. The second most frequently mentioned prerequisite was a demonstrated ability to perform certain kinds of tasks. Reportedly, upper level power figures "watch" the economic and social ascension of promising men, and, as the need arises, they ask such men to assume certain responsibilities, usually pertaining to the footwork aspect of a particular act of power rather than to policy-making matters. Men who perform satisfactorily and aspire to greater involvement in vital community affairs become increasingly integrated into the upper echelons of power, and the more successful ones are accepted on a policy-making level. At this point they become less visible to typical community residents because they are less involved in the footwork aspect of many acts of power. In illustration of this point, one of the highest ranking reputed power figures identified in this study seldom became visible as a participant in an act of power, but to the express knowledge of this investigator performed in the role of confidant and consultant on all the major issues before community policy-makers during the course of the study. In contrast, the aspirant who "fumbles the ball" on lesser projects quickly loses the confidence of upper level power figures and in some instances is rather brutally rejected by them. In addition to the emphasis upon demonstrated economic success and satisfactory performance in community affairs, a rather wide variety of requisite characteristics of ascension into the reputational power pool were mentioned by the 21 reputed power figures responding to the question. Among the more frequently mentioned charactertics were ambition, drive, intelligence, interest in people, commitment, control of one's temper, and decisiveness.

A very significant point relative to the question of "what it takes" to gain entree into the upper echelons of power is that the occupancy of an authoritative position is not a prerequisite to social power per se, thus supporting the contention recorded in the Conceptual Framework pertaining to the primacy of social power relative to authority. Not one respondent suggested authority as a prerequisite to power or even as an avenue into power. Although a relatively sound case might be developed for the latter point--an avenue into power--the testimony of the respondents clearly focuses upon people and not positions. People with power manipulate positions according to their will and authoritative opposition fades rapidly in the face of actual cores of power. This is demonstrated by some events discussed below pertaining to shifts of power in the governmental sphere of community life.

Change by Major Institutionalized Spheres of Community Life and Events Which Illustrate Activities of Power Figures

The following discussion is organized according to the community power model depicted in Figure 4. Several of the persions identified in this study as power figures by reputational methods and assigned to the reputational power pool figure significantly in each of the illustrative events discussed below. However, ethical considerations prohibit the explicit identification of particular power figures with specific aspects of specific events.

Government. The most notable shifts in social power over time are best illustrated by changes in the sphere of community government. As mentioned above, the benchmark for major change in community government was the end of World War II. With recognition of the risks involved in oversimplification and generalization, the ensuing power struggles pitted young against old, liveral against conservative, urban against rural, non-farm business against farm and farm-allied business, and economically successful persons emerging from the less affluent elements of the community against the so-called landed gentry or the traditional families. There are some notable exceptions to these directions, but in view of their limited value for a better understanding of major shifts in social power within the community, space and time do not permit their full exposition. Younger men, many of whom were sons of established, traditional families of considerable influence, worked their way into strategic positions of local government and waged battle against what they defined as patronage, favoritism, and ineptness. The Jaycee organization underwent a change from politically aloof attitudes and a landed gentry membership to subtle but genuine political commitments and a highly diverse membership representing all economic and social levels within the community. In an aura of public betterment and service to the bro broader needs of the community, younger, more aggressive, urban-oriented men invaded the political scene. However, it is apparent in retrospect that personal interests sometimes prevailed over public ones. In the early 1950's, groups of men spoke and worked gallantly for industrial diversification against strong opposition, and toward the end of the decade a tax-supported commission was formed for the sole purpose of industrial development. But some community leaders in the movement worked to attract industry which would complement their own economic interests and were reluctant to admit, or in some cases blatantly opposed to, new industry which would compete with their own. Community bankers realized the benefits of diversification to supplement sagging agricultural profits and applauded efforts toward diversification, but they assumed the uncomfortable position of opposing the establishment of a new, out-of-town bank in their community.

Nevertheless, the recent history of the community is one of diversification, and urban-oriented supporters of the movement have formed alliances with incoming managers and executives to challenge older order, agrarian elements. Since the economy in the past had been agriculturally based, the county government constituted the active agent for transaction of community business, and the city government was, according to one respondent, "filled with men who did nothing because nothing was expected of them." Men entering city government with a will to change the status quo experienced various kinds and degrees of opposition from the county government dominated by large land owners, tabacconists, and "city farmers."

Reapportionment of the county commissioners marked an important area of success for the urban-oriented element in the fight for a supposedly more representative voice in vital affairs of the community. The county was divided into five political divisions, one of which included the major urban township, and commissioners were elected according to residency in one of the political divisions. According to the challenging group, Central City had only one representative on the county board although almost 50 per cent of the county population resided within Central City at that time. The net result of the ensuing struggle was that the county board was increased in size from five to seven men, and the two new positions were to be filled with city residents elected by city residents, thus effecting a four-county-members-to-three-city-members ratio of representation. The end result, according to the challenging groups, was that the "city farmers" elected a "city farmer" to one of the city positions, and the practical balance of power remained in favor of the agrarian element by a ratio of five to two.

An urban-oriented core of power attempted to maximize the effectiveness of their new inroad into the county bureaucracy by publicizing inequities in the evaluation of city and county land for tax purposes. Although county land was taxed upon the basis of about 30 per cent of market value and city property at about 90 per cent of market value, the issue dropped from public attention until the time that the county commissioners could by law (once every eight years by state law) establish new standards for evaluation of property for tax purposes. Reapportionment and a growing resentment to tax inequities provided momentum for the further erosion of hard-line agrarian influence in community affairs.

During the course of the fieldwork for this study, the time for county commissioners to re-evaluate land for tax purposes according to state law arrived, and the issue was thrust once again into public awareness by several high ranking power figures working in conjunction with and through the local Board of Realtors. This time a formidable core of power developed and threatened legal action against the county board if appropriate action was not taken to alleviate some of the inequities. The challenging group was successful in securing the services of an outside appraisal firm, at a substantial cost to the county government, for the purpose of re-evaluating all property for tax purposes at 90 per cent of the market value. The appraisal firm completed the revaluation and presented their report to the proper authorities. One of the agrarian-oriented commissioners, supposedly one of the younger commissioners from a rural area acting without the knowledge of some other commissioners, wrote a compromise resolution to the recommendation of the appraisal firm and presented it during a regular meeting of the board. After considerable discussion, the chairman, who does not vote except to break a tie, called for the question and the resolution was adopted by a four to two margin--the urban-oriented commissioners casting the two dissenting votes. The compromise measure which raised rural property taxes by approximately 60 to 80 per cent was far short of what the urban-oriented element had worked for, but it constituted a rather remarkable increase in view of the fact that the county then manifested the highest base for the evaluation of rural property of all counties in the state. The agrarian-oriented element argued that a higher tax base would force many farmers out of business and might otherwise anger county farmers to the extent that they would seek to buy their supplies in towns in adjacent counties--hence damaging the economy of Central City. To the further chagrin of urban representatives on the county board, they supposedly learned at the next regular meeting that the compromise measure had also fixed the valuation scale for city prperty at the former 90 per cent of market value, hence maintaining the marked descrepancy between tax bases for city and rural property.

However, after being voted down on the issue of revaluation, at the very next monthly meeting when one of the older, strongly agrarian commissioners was absent, the urban representatives spearheaded a resolution to reapportion the board on an at-large basis without residency requirements. The resolution was the product of a 10-month study of a committee of four commissioners. It reportedly represented their effort to once and for all settle the question of unequal representation. After heated debate and a plea by one of the agrarian-oriented commissioners to defer action on the resolution until a later meeting, the chairman called for the question, and the resolution passed by a four to one margin. When asked to vote, the dissenting commissioner remarked, "I can very well be voting for the people in the rural area to have elected their last commissioner." Adoption of the latter reapportionment resolution marked a major victory for the younger, more urban-oriented element in their attempts to wrest control of the county government out of the hands of old guard power figures. Such a victory is surely a two-edged sword, though, for what is progress for one group is often retrogression for another. The two events together, reapportionment and revaluation, are clearly indicative of major shifts of social power over time as a concomitant to a changing economic base.

Economy. During the course of the study, the investigator heard many remarks alluding to the "closedness" of the economy prior to World War II. The community was, until recently superseded by Rhodesia, the world's leading bright leaf tobacco market, and tobacconists and large land owners had traditionally dominated the economy. The economic magnates in control of the area in the years approaching World War II were reportedly anti-diversificationists in fear of losing a cheap supply of labor and otherwise relinquishing a very lucrative way of life for themselves.

A more liberal son of a traditional tobacconist broke new ground and set machinery in motion for the establishment of a tax-supported industrial council by a strongly individualistic effort to persuade a nationally prominent meat packing firm to establish a new operation in the community. His efforts, which were eventually successful, were more often criticized than applauded and although the significance of his contribution has recently gained wider appreciation among pro-diversificationists, some criticism continues among both diversification and anti-diversification factions.

A few respondents in both factions suggested very selfish reasons for the innovator's efforts, as they believed he anticipated a financial bonanza for himself in the cattle business. This latter situation never materialized, and in retrospect the self-gain aspect of the event for the leading power figure was insignificant. Soon after establishment of the meat packing firm in the community, a strike occurred which introduced the community to the bargaining power of a strong union and confirmed the suspicions of some anti-diversificationists that new industry would be accompanied by undesirable consequences. Two large farmers and one farm-allied entrepreneur told this investigator how new industry had priced labor out of their reach. According to these men, because of the combined effects of higher wages in industry and welfare payments, persons who could not get jobs with new industry in the community refused to work for farmers under traditional wage and labor conditions, thus creating an aggregate of unemployed laborers in the slum areas of Central City. One farmer speaking of the combined effects of higher wages in some industries and minimum wage laws remarked, "If we could pay them [laborers] what they are worth, we could give more of them work just like we used to."

Nevertheless, an effective wedge had been driven into the closed economy with the advent of new industry and a tax-supported industrial council. From the beginning, some of the more influential men worked on and for this council, and even some of the anti-diversificationists realized the potential benefit of increased industrialization and cooperated with the council. During a vascillating period of enchantment, ambivalence, and negativism toward the prospect of new industry, bank executives apparently became enthusiastic over the possibilities represented by new industry and practically took over the council, although some of its founders felt that bankers should not occupy positions within it. However, finance per se has become one of the more rapidly growing enterprises in the community, and currently banks are well represented on the council. This fact of bankers serving on the industrial council points up another important point about social power in the community.

Considerable amounts of time are required of members of the council, and often they have to be in a position to leave their own business for a day or two, hence eliminating many otherwise willing and capable power figures. Bank executives can justify their time spent in terms of new business secured for their respective banks. Reportedly, banks have pushed for representative membership on the council, against some opposition from non-banking elements, because not having men representing them on the council placed them in an unfair competitive position with a bank that was represented. During the course of the fieldwork for this study, bankers held a commanding grip on the council and its activities and hand-picked a new director to replace one that had fallen into disfavor with some very influential power figures. Taking into consideration the high proportion of bank executives and banking board members within the reputational power pool, it is very apparent that the banking enterprise provides the impetus and direction for further industrial diversification of the community. Another noteworthy point about the release of the director mentioned above is that the movement to immediately oust him reportedly originated outside of authoritative channels and was precipitated by the director's criticism of community leadership during a speech at a service club meeting. According to one source, some county commissioners felt compelled to execute the release of the director, who they felt had performed his work well, because they feared being made to look "stupid" by power figures pushing the issue.

Toward the end of the fieldwork for this study, the seven-man council was reorganized for a new term and was comprised of three bank officers, two of whom held positions as chairman and vice-chairman, respectively; three retail businessmen; and one insurance agent. The constituency of the council and its activities is further evidence of shifting power in the community and of how men numbered among the upper ranks of the reputational power pool combine forces and even battle among themselves for competitive advantage relative to assertion of their wills upon vital affairs within the community.

Education. Notable change in local school administration, philosophy, and structure is also benchmarked by World War II and immediate succeeding years. During the late 1940's and within the space of just a few years, at least five sons of established families returned to the community as Phi Beta Kappa graduates of the state's foremost liberal arts university. Some of these men are the same ones who spearheaded and helped to direct change in city government and who sponsored early efforts toward industrial diversification. Following from their personal academic experiences and values, and having knowledge of other persons in their community who could not make passing grades at State University, they worked for a stronger college preparatory orientation within the public school system. One of these men served several terms as a member of the city school board. Three relatively long-term members of the city school board are among those listed in the reputational power pool, and two of these are first level power figures. Although there exists no known anti-occupational educational sentiment among these men, their personal interests apparently favor general or college preparatory curricula within the public school system. One of them serves as trustee for a liberal arts college and also as trustee for the county's technical institute. The latter trusteeship is an appointed position derived from his membership on the city school board.

The program of County Technical Institute is manifesting continuous growth in spite of an increasing middle-class service orientation. A similar trend is evident throughout the region as shown by the tendency of schools established explicitly for technical and vocational curricula to evolve gradually into more comprehensive community colleges or four-year programs. The reasons for this phenomenon are not clear, but there seems to be a much larger and pervasive middle-class viewpoint of occupational education in general which exhibits certain derogatory connotations. Several influential persons in the community interviewed by this investigator conveyed an impression of occupational education as an alternative course for persons unable to achieve success in traditional academic subjects. A few of them explicitly look to County Institute's ability to draw higher caliber, non-flunk-out-type students, as a major evaluative criterion of its utility and success in the community--i.e., when the Institute demonstrates its academic respectability as a service institution for children of middle-and upper-class families and other culturally refined adults. Correspondingly, the administration feels a certain degree of accomplishment and pride with the acceptance of their school by the larger community as demonstrated by matriculation of middle- and upper class students into their programs.

The investigator heard some criticism of the aesthetic or enrichment courses offered by the Institute and proposals for other courses which would duplicate course offerings at a nearby church-related college. However, such courses apparently evoke greater interest and provide for greater recognition of the Institute among prominent persons in the community. At least two of the power figures identified in this study had taken a course at the Institute, one other indicated definite plans to do so, and several others indicated an interest in taking courses there. Reportedly, several wives of prominent citizens had had some association with the Institute through either direct enrollment in enrichment courses or club-related activities. Institute services most widely recognized among the community knowledgeables who discussed this subject with the investigator were those relative to law enforcement and fire service training. The Institute also gained recognition among certain positional leaders and power figures for its contribution of heavy equipment and operators for excavation and grading for public school and athletic projects. The Institute apparently gains very little recognition from prominent citizens for its functions in remedial academic work, basic academic work, and lower status vocational training programs.

The marked growth and development of a church-related four-year college is a success story of the community, and its "development program campaign" is an example of highly effective social action at a local community level. Eight of the twelve trustees who reside in Central City are members of the reputational power pool, and five of these are listed among the 21 first level power figures. Two other persons listed among the power figures who were not trustees served on a steering committee. Therefore, almost one-third of the persons identified as power figures in the study participated in the initiation and execution of the development program campaign. Numerous brainstorming, information dissimination, and cultivation of interest sessions were scheduled at the homes of various trustees as a part of the actual fund-raising campaign. The climate of these meetings and subsequent ones was that of a fireside chat with no formalized agenda. There can be no doubt that the high concentration of power figures within the structure of the campaign contributed significantly to its success.

Likewise, legitimation by several higher ranking power figures helped to account for passage of a supplementary city school tax. The city school superintendent spearheaded the publicity campaign and worked through its successful culmination by means of brochures, meetings with P. T. A. groups, contacts with all civic and service clubs, and a telephone campaign by groups of mothers.

A similar supplemental school tax for county schools failed during the same general election. Why did it fail? Several frequently mentioned factors are the federal surtax, the revaluation of rural property for tax purposes, and the rumors of a state sales tax which would provide revenue for county schools. Another more crucial point is evident. There was no legitimizing and supporting core of power among county leaders which could command the respect of its public such as was the case for the city schools. Other contributing factors to the failure of the issue to gain public support was undoubtedly the aura of secrecy which engulfed county administrative activities and devisiveness among the ranks of county officials.

In summary, with the shift of power and the emergence of urban-oriented power structures comprised of persons who hold a college education in high esteem, a qualitative difference has developed between city and county schools. Power figures in support of city schools tend to be oriented more toward college preparatory curricula than occupational educational curricula. The middle-class influence is apparent even within County Technical Institute, as there seems to be very little support among prominent persons for remedial, basic academic, and low status vocational curricula. A cogent question with regard to this phenomenon is whether or not a technical school can continue to grow and improve its services to a community while failing to tap into the interest and support available among the middle classes? Can a technical school maintain even a creditable status quo while offering curricula designed for those who supposedly need it most--the economically disadvantaged? Educational systems can be modified and updated (as evidenced by the above mentioned "development program campaign" of a church-related college) if a strong action-oriented core of power supports and works for the change. Without such support from several high ranking lay power figures, change is unlikely to occur even though school functionaries favor the change.

Health. The persistence of one man precipitated the action program which produced County Hospital. His experience in a community hospital in the late 1940's convinced him of the need for new facilities, and, after some preliminary research, he introduced his ideas to his fellow Jaycees. The Jaycees favored the idea, and a short-lived flurry of excitement was generated by the prospects of a new, modern county hospital to replace three smaller private ones. However, the three private hospitals were owned by local doctors, and plans for a county hospital would of "necessity" include plans for helping the doctors recover their capital investments. Moreover, the doctors rejected the proposal that a new hospital was necessary. Following several unpleasant confrontations between persons on both sides of the issue, the proposal dropped from public attention.

Six years later, the proposal was presented to the Jaycees again by the same person who had since become a Jaycee vice-president. A committee was formed, including two names of persons identified as power figures in the present study. Other persons whose names appear in the reputational power pool were members of the Jaycee Board of Directors. Several of these men who were in the forefront of action-oriented programs discussed previously carried the issue once again before the doctors and the public. Reluctance by the doctors stimulated the vice-president to attempt to obtain the hospital without the cooperation of the doctors. The daily newspaper dropped the issue once again. However, the matter was referred to the Jaycee Board of Directors, and negotiations with the doctors continued until the time that a private endowment organization agreed to purchase the physical facilities of the three existing hospitals, thus opening the way for the new hospital. At the time of the present study, two first level power figures served the hospital as trustees and were extensively involved in the affairs of the hospital and matters pertaining to ambulance service. One of these men, who was relatively new to the community at the time, having moved there to assume an executive position with a new organization to the community, had also spearheaded the events relative to revaluation and reapportionment.

Recreation. The building of an athletic complex at a city high school constitutes the most notable recent change in the sphere of recreation. A football coach at the high school initiated the action idea, and soon a few interested persons joined his efforts. A civic council was formed with one representative for each civic or service club in the area. One person particularly interested in sports assumed the major burden for the project but gave it up when confronted with complications in transfer of school property to the city in order to facilitate access to federal funds. The efforts of the civic council to implement the action program failed. Subsequently, two members of the city school board, who rank among the 21 first level power figures, approached the major power figure of the previous effort and asked for help. An agreement was reached which allowed the power figure to organize a private corporation to build the complex and deed it to the school.

The relevant power figure chose 10 men to help him implement the fund-raising activity. He chose some with money enough to make a substantial initial personal contribution and some others less wealthy who he believed were willing to work and capable of helping him accomplish the major goals. Shortly thereafter, construction began with help from the administration of County Technical Institute, which supplied the necessary heavy equipment, and a city recreation director who was consulted on the preparation of the football field. The action phase moved quickly to completion.

Welfare, Family and Religion. No notable changes have recently occurred in these institutionalized spheres of social life in the community as a direct result of the action of community power figures. Power figures often are asked to help head charitable campaigns, but other than this limited activity, most of the impetus for change in the sphere of welfare originates outside of the local community at other levels of government.

An Overview

The events discussed above in no way include all significant events occurring during the course of the fieldwork for this study. However, they represent all types of major issues before the community at the time, with the exception of tobacco marketing problems and some state-wide or national issues which generate little local community level action. Many interesting detailes have been deleted, especially rumors or verbal attacks on persons which, although descriptive, have little if any explanatory or augmentative value for understanding.

Although it is difficult if not impossible to construct an unequivocal case for the reader, two points are patently clear to the investigator: (1) the men identified as power figures in this study and assigned to the reputational power pool do, in fact, constitute real or actual power, and (2) the persons ranking among the 21 first level power figures constitute power over a rather broad spectrum of community life. The events discussed above and related ones repeatedly demonstrate the effectiveness of reputed power figures in interjecting their wills into the several concurrent, ongoing processes of community life.

Change is inevitable and continuous. The above discussion of change and major events illustrates shifts in power over time concomitant with economic change. Such change precludes the possibility of a monolithic or pyramidal power structure. Men listed among the top 21 power figures do not always agree on the issues, and they do not always have their own way. Community power is a story of men combining forces in various, but generally informal, ways upon the basis of someone's early perception of need and their efforts to attain goals relative to perceived needs. In some acts of power, two high-level power figures will work together toward the attainment of shared goals, whereas in a concurrent act of power in another sphere of community life, they may stand in direct opposition to one another. The investigator frequently heard statements such as, "You can do anything if the right men are on your side." This statement is generally true, but it requires strong qualifications. If the act of power is to be contested, one has to have the "right men" on his side of the issue to confront and outmaneuver the "right men" on the other side; often it is impossible for initiating power figures to anticipate the relevant sources of opposition. Particularly in the sphere of government or economy or education, an action-oriented core of power rather rapidly emerges and in turn precipitates the formation of an opposing core of power. When confrontation occurs, each side evaluates the situation, and new strategies are delineated in anticipation of a subsequent confrontation. From one confrontation to another the constituency of the action-oriented cores of power change as new power figures are enlisted and previous ones assume less major roles.

Generally, a telephone or personal contact campaign occurs just before and immediately following a confrontation. In the space of one 2 1/2-hour interview, one power figure received 10 phone calls, most of which pertained to community affairs not directly related to his personal business. During another interview with a high level power figure just before a confrontation over the matter of property revaluation, two telephone conversations transpired which revealed the efforts of opposing cores of power to enlist the active support of the relevant power figure.

The term "power structures" is then more appropriate than the singular form. Power relations are dynamic, and, therefore, power structures also change. In this context then, the reader might question the utility or the validity of the concept of a reputational power pool over time. Incredible as it may appear on first consideration, it is the very fact of the dynamic characteristics of social power and the multiplicity of power structures which lends especial validity and utility to the concept of a reputational power pool as a stable phenomenon over time. With increasing functional differentiation and diversification in a community, power figures are continuously confronted by new problems for which no traditional solution will suffice and for which no specific expertise is claimed among their cohorts or more general acquaintances. Because the resolution of such problems require's collective action, an individual's manifest proficiency in previous matters--his "reputation"--is the only feasible criterion for soliciting his help. This point will be more fully developed following consideration of illustrative examples and introduction of a theoretical frame of analysis which evolved out of the investigator's attempt to understand why certain programs were successful and why others were not.

Consider for example, the problems pertaining to provision of ambulance service in a community where private enterprise will not support it. Who among hospital administrators, city or county officials can claim an expertise in the matter, or what particular professional or vocational commitment especially grooms persons for resolution of such problems? There is no simple solution or best answer to such problems or questions because value judgments are more critical than practical formulas such as 2 + 2 always equals 4. Private enterprise can realize a profit on certain kinds of emergency calls; where to draw the line is the question. Likewise, reapportionment or revaluation involves the matter of "fairness"; educational problems entail "human dignity" and maintenance of familial values; and industrial development entails selectivity on some definition of "desirability."

A Processual Model for Initiation and Execution of Social Action

The initial efforts of men who combine forces to attack a problem must be oriented either consciously or unconsciously toward a consensus of value. That is to say that they must reach an agreement upon what is right, proper, moral, ethical, etc., and only then can they establish realistic goals. Once goals are established or the initiating power figures know what they hope to achieve, then they must satisfy requirements of the appropriate rules or laws which define the boundaries of legitimacy for reaching their goals. In some cases new laws must be enacted or new rules must be agreed upon. This matter of satisfying the requirements of rule or law holds in every case; even "gangsters" must abide by some recognized set of standards in plying their trade. After some degree of value consensus is achieved, goals are delimited, and members of the core of power know the rules under which they will collectively operate. Then and only then is a consideration of actual methods for solving the problem by attaining the specified goals appropriate and workable. Methods include the specific application of procedures, techniques, and skills.

Thus, the initiation of action by a core of power figures entails at least four substantive stages of a unilineal process: (1) values, (2) goals, (3) norms (rules), and (4) methods. This process is not apparent in many instances of specific acts of power, however, because more often than not the core which is usually a residual or "hang-over" core from a previous act of power starts at stage four or at some intermediate stage rather than stage one. In relatively minor matters, an existing formal structure or core of power can solve a problem by simply applying methods--e.g., replace a street light or clean a drainage ditch. The underlying or latent values, goals, and norms are so well established and accepted that action can be effected without renewed consideration of them. However, when action induces opposition, and opposing cores of power develop and prepare for confrontation, stages three, two, and one are more clearly evident. If a core of power which starts at stage four or stage three meets strong opposition or any kind of obstacle which thwarts progress in the application of method, they must necessarily consider stage two or one. For example, participants in the core ask, "Just exactly what are we trying to accomplish?" This results in a more explicit awareness of goals and specific objectives that must be realized in pursuit of the larger goal. If stage one is necessitated by an obstacle, the question might be, "Now just what is the purpose of such action?" or "Why should we?" This establishes awareness of basic values which will enable establishment of realistic and acceptable objectives and goals.

It is typical of many cores of power such as those referred to before to start at stage four and falter or fail. For example, the original cores of power working for a county hospital and an athletic complex failed. In both of these cases an individual perceived a need, persuaded other individuals to help him work toward satisfaction of the need, and then began to apply methods to nebulous goals--to build a hospital and to build an athletic complex. Both met opposition and failed because explicit goals and the attainment of prerequisite objectives relative to explicit goals were not carefully explained and understood. Both cores disintegrated, the one working for the athletic complex receding to stage three before disintegrating. Its members carefully considered the existing rules by which the athletic complex could be accomplished, i.e., through transfer of school property to the city and utilization of federal funds. No existing value orientations would support movement toward the goals according to these rules, so the core disintegrated. In the words of the power figure who carried the major burden, it was a "miserable failure."

However, with failure came reconsideration and establishment of new objectives for which supportive values existed if presented in an acceptable fashion. In short, a new structure or a new action-oriented core of power developed in response to a perceived need, comprised of a number of very successful private entrepreneurs who operated under a set of rules supported by existing values in the community. Again under the leadership of the power fugure who had carried the major burden previously, the core formed a private corporation which was, in this case, a prerequisite objective and expiditiously moved to the successful completion of the project. Likewise, the core of power working for the hospital met with success once explicit objectives could be delineated within the realm of agreed upon rules pertaining to how the objectives and the larger goal could be attained. Existing values supported the formation of the core of power and their movement from a perceived need to the completion of the hospital. The action relative to the supplementary county school tax failed because application of method--vote by referendum--preceded stipulation of rules governing how the revenue would be spent, what objectives and goals the revenue would be used to accomplish, and articulation and cultivation of supportive values.

On the other hand, the action relative to the city school tax supplement began with the articulation and cultivation of supportive values which was followed by a statement of explicit objectives and goals, an explanation of the relevant rules or norms governing how the increased revenue would be spent, and a statement of the procedures citizens could follow in realization of the stated objectives and goals. The following is a list of questions taken from a brochure entitled "Questions and Answers" employed as a promotional device in the supplementary city school tax campaign. Space prohibits duplication of the answers, but the questions are illustrative of four processual requisites for the initiation of successful social action pertaining to (1) values, (2) goals, (3) norms, and (4) methods.

1. What is the purpose of a supplemental school tax?
2. Is a supplemental tax now levied in Central City township?
3. Why is it now necessary to increase the maximum rate from 20 cents to 40 cents of the $100.00 valuation of property?

4. Do other communities also provide supplemental school taxes?
5. How do we rank with other communities?
6. If the citizens of Central City township vote to increase the supplemental tax to a maximum of 40 cents, does this mean that the total amount would be levied next year?
7. If the tax referendum receives the approval of Central City voters, how will the additional revenue be used?
8. What would be the annual cost to the taxpayer in Central City township?
9. What is the purpose of paying teacher salary supplements?
10. What salary supplement is now paid teachers in the Central City administrative unit?
11. How does the local salary supplement compare with other communities?
12. What increase in teacher salary supplements is proposed by the Central City Board of Education?
13. If the tax referendum in Central City township should fail, would the accreditation of the schools be affected?
14. What would loss of regional accreditation by local high schools mean?
15. When will the school tax referendum be held?
16. Who is eligible to vote?

It is significant to note in passing that the successful development campaign of the church-related college was not at all founded upon the application of methods. Instead, initiators began with very informal fireside chats during which long-range objectives and goals were explained in an effort to "cultivate interest" and to generate an awareness of needs. Formal application of method was simply not necessary in this case.

The Utility of a Disputed Concept: Reputational Power Pool

Now, back to the question of the validity and utility of the concept of a reputational power pool within the context of highly dynamic power relations, and the point that a person's "reputation" constitutes the single best criterion for encouraging him to participate as a member of an action-oriented core of power. First, the majority of problems evolving out of social and cultural change are in areas in which no one can claim expertise. Even when expert knowledge is available outside the community, a core of power must develop which has the capacity to tap outside resources and introduce them to the community. The core of power in this case forms around something other than expertise. Secondly, expertise in industrial society is generally associated with the application of method--i.e., specific knowledge of existing procedures, specific techniques, and specific skills-- and as illustrated above, innovative action programs founded upon application of method generally fail. Therefore, expertise in community problems is seldom available, and if it is available and injected into the action program before stages one, two, and three of the initiation process have been accomplished, the program is likely to fail. What criterion for selection of persons to participate in an action-oriented core of power is, then, most productive? The best condition, as demonstrated repeatedly in successful action programs, is the formation of an action-oriented core of power comprised of individuals who can command the respect of the public and who have demonstrated their abilities to contribute to the success of other action programs regardless of the nature of previous and current problems. In a word, the single best criterion is an individual's reputation. The reputation that elicits an appeal for a person to join a core of power is undoubtedly a product of (1) his sensitivity to basic value orientations in the community; (2) his capacity to generate, articulate, and cultivate values relative to perceived needs; (3) his ability to articulate specific objectives and goals of the action; (4) his ability to specify and uphold the norms which control direction of the action; and (5) his adeptness in the application of methods or in the location and enlistment of someone who is adept in methods which are relevant to execution of the action. Since the typical power figure who is trying to initiate action thinks in concrete, "practical" terms rather than abstract ones, he is likely to "sum up" the above stated components under the rubric "past performance"--that is, the ability to "get the job done."

Consequently, over time individuals perceptive to the on-going processes of community life develop an impression of a number of persons who they feel can influence the outcome of various action programs and decision-making processes. When a consensus is evident concerning the identity of these persons, this consensus may logically be considered to denote the existence of a reputational power pool. Reputations persist through time as long as the individual's past performance is respected and as long as he is willing to assume an action role from time to time either as footworker or consultant in various acts of power. Therefore, a reputational power pool persists through time even as the major issues change and as specific power structures rise and fall.

As evidenced by this study, the actual participation of members of the reputational power pool in acts of power varies over time since they sometimes divert their energies into several spheres of community life and at other times concentrate them in very specific issues relative to one sphere. Evidently, the highly respected power figure will be implored to become involved in almost every sphere of community life, and his participation is limited only by his willingness, time, and income. Power figures may actually drop out of all action processes from time to tome due to temporary personal commitments or illness and maintain the respect of those who continue to act upon perceived needs which require collective participation. In some notable cases, an individual's respect or reputation has survived through long periods of inactivity and then suddenly disentegrated with manifestation of an "out of tune" or dated point of view.

One additional point with reference to how social power is exercised on the community level warrants discussion. Power figures may participate in social action on either a policy-making level or footwork level or at any combination of these levels between the two extremes. In short, there appears to be a continuum of activity levels ranging from almost exclusive footwork to exclusive policy-making by virtue of consultation. Most of the younger men and newcomers participate successfully at the footwork level in some activity before they are effective in influencing policy. Some younger men and newcomers move rapidly into the policy-making arena, and some will probably never influence policy although they continue to perform acceptably on the footwork level. Some apparent criteria for acceptance on a policy-making level are varied interests and an ability to get along with people who represent opposing or incompatible points of view. Individuals who restrict their activities to one narrow span of interest or who lose their temper in confrontations with opposing forces rarely perform a policy-making function.

Summary

The objectives of this section of the report were (1) to delineate some of the major changes occurring within power structures in Central City, (2) to illustrate how power figures combine forces to transact community business, and (3) to explicate how social power is structured and exercised and why the concept of a reputational power pool is utile and valid in studies of community power. With regard to the third objective, a processual model was introduced and employed to facilitate explication of why some attempts to initiate and execute social action are successful while others are not.

PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY NEEDS

Community Needs from the Viewpoint of a Sample of Community Residents

Perhaps in too many instances community needs are identified and delimited upon the basis of the expertise of a relatively small number of persons who, as a general rule, have attained higher levels of formal education, have greater incomes, hold positions of higher prestige, and live in better homes than what is typical for community residents as a whole. One supplementary objective of this research project is to investigate needs as these are perceived by a representative sample of community residents and then to compare their perceptions with those of the final panel. Needs are defined as a combination of (1) dissatisfactions with a current set of circumstances and (2) an image of potentiality as to how these dissactisfactions might be ameliorated. In order to encourage self-involvement on the part of the respondent, the following hypothetical situation was suggested: "If you could make suggestions to the most influential persons in your community, what big problems would you like to see them work on?" The responses of the 323 sample residents to this question are analyzed and discussed below.

Since the question is open-ended and the respondents were encouraged to mention any problems they believed could be ameliorated through the action of community leaders, a large variety of responses was possible. A careful analysis revealed that the responses could readily be codified into seven categories: (1) education, (2) occupation, (3) housing, (4) civil rights, (5) civic and municipal improvements, (6) other, and (7) no codable response. Table 14 indicates the percentage of residents whose response falls into each category (i.e., the percentage of 323 respondents who mentioned each problem). Eighty percent of the sample cited at least one problem which they believed should receive the attention of community leaders, and the need for civic and municipal improvements was cited most frequently. Occupation, housing, education, and civil rights as community problems follow in descending order.

Table 14. Percentage of Residents Who Mentioned Community Problems by Category of Problem, N=323

1.	Civic and Municipal Improvement	39*
2.	Occupation	29
3.	Housing	16
4.	Education	11
5.	Civil Rights	10
6.	Other	10
7.	No Response	20

*Categories are not mutually exclusive; therefore, percentages do not add to 100.

Table 15. Rank Order of Community Problems by Race, Sex, and Education Level, N=323

Years of School Completed	White Female	Per Cent	White Male	Per Cent	Negro Female	Per Cent	Negro Male	Per Cent
	N=(16)		N=(10)		N=(2)		N=(6)	
3 or more	1. C & M Imp (8)	50	1. Occ (6)	60	1. C & M Imp (1)	50	1. Civil R (3)	50
	2. Ed (3)	19	2. C & M Imp (5)	50	2. Civil R (1)	50	2. Occ (2)	33
	3. Civil R (5)	19	3. Housing (3)	30			3. C & M Imp (1)	17
	4. Housing (1)	6	4. Ed (2)	20				
			5. Civil R (2)	20				
	N=(27)		N=(17)		N=(2)		N=(7)	
12	1. C & M Imp (15)	56	1. C & M Imp (6)	35	1. Civil R (2)	100	1. C & M Imp (4)	57
	2. Housing (4)	15	2. Occ (3)	18	2. Housing (1)	50	2. Civil R (3)	43
	3. Occ (3)	11	3. Housing (2)	12			3. Housing (3)	43
	4. Ed (3)	11	4. Ed (2)	12			4. Occ (3)	43
	5. Civil R (2)	7	5. Civil R (2)	12				
	N=(50)		N=(48)		N=(23)		N=(29)	
7-11	1. C & M Imp (16)	32	1. C & M Imp (24)	48	1. C & M Imp (9)	39	1. Occ (17)	59
	2. Ed (6)	12	2. Occ (13)	25	2. Occ (8)	35	2. Housing (6)	21
	3. Occ (5)	10	3. Housing (3)	6	3. Housing (8)	35	3. C & M Imp (6)	21
	4. Housing (4)	8	4. Ed (3)	6	4. Ed (2)	9	4. Ed (4)	14
	5. Civil R (4)	8	5. Civil R (3)	6			5. Civil R (2)	7
	N=(10)		N=(22)		N=(14)		N=(40)	
0-6	1. C & M Imp (3)	30	1. C & M Imp (9)	41	1. Occ (8)	57	1. Occ (20)	50
	2. Occ (2)	20	2. Occ (4)	18	2. Housing (5)	36	2. C & M Imp (13)	33
	3. Ed (1)	10	3. Ed (4)	18	3. C & M Imp (5)	36	3. Housing (11)	28
			4. Housing (2)	9	4. Ed (1)	7	4. Ed (5)	13
							5. Civil R (4)	10

Total - N=323

Table 15 indicates the rank order of community problems according to race, sex, and level of education categories. Table 15 will not be discussed in detail at this point as each problem area is discussed separately below. However, one tendency in the response pattern is obvious; respondents tend to perceive community problems more frequently when the problems directly affect themselves. A rather high degree of self-interest is indicated by this responsive tendency. For example, the highest educated white females (n=16), who tend to be relatively secure economically and satisfied with their life style, most frequently mention problems concerning streets, sidewalks, and various other civic and municipal matters (50 per cent), while only 6 per cent of them mentioned housing, and none of them mentioned occupation or work. In contrast, the lowest educated Negro Females (N=14), who represent the extreme category away from the security and satisfactory style of life enjoyed by the better educated white females, most often mentioned occupation (57 per cent), and 36 per cent of them mentioned housing as a community problem. As a further illustration of this tendency toward self-interest, none of the eight Negroes with education beyond high school mentioned housing, whereas more than 30 per cent of those who have twelve years or less of education (N=115) mentioned it.

The following is a discussion of differences in perception of specific community problems which should receive the attention of leaders by race, sex, and level of education.

Education

Relatively few respondents (11 per cent) mentioned a need for local leaders to work toward improved educational facilities and services for their community. Table 16 indicates the percentage mentioning education as a community problem by race, sex, and educational level.

Table 16. Percentage Mentioning Education as a Community Problem by Race, Sex, and Level of Education

Years Completed	WF	WM	NF	NM
13 or more	19	20	0	0
12	11	12	0	0
7-11	12	6	9	14
0-6	10	18	7	13

An important consideration in the interpretation of the data in Table 16 is the association between race and education for the sample. Whites are considerable higher educated than are Negroes (Chi-square significant beyond .001). This association holds for the separate sexes as well, in that whites, whether male or female, are better educated than Negroes.

The investigator expected that higher educated persons in the sample would manifest considerably higher educational values and, therefore, that they would more often mention educational matters which should receive the attention of community leaders. It was also expected that whites, due to their generally higher level of educational attainment and accrued benefits, would more often mention educational needs than would Negroes.

The data in Table 17 reveal that the first expectation is not clearly supported, as nearly equal numbers of persons in all educational attainment levels mentioned education as a community problem. The second expectation here is substantiated for the highest education level, but not for the other two levels. Only highly educated whites mentioned education much more often than highly educated Negroes.

Table 17. Percentage Mentioning Education as a Community Problem by Race and Level of Education

Years of School Completed	White	Negro
12 or more	14	0
7-11	9	12
0-6	16	11
TOTAL	39	23

Table 18 indicates that lower educated Negro males tended to mention education more often than did lower educated Negro females, although the difference is not statistically significant. No such sex differences are apparent for the whites.

Tables 18. Percentage of Lower Educated Negroes Mentioning Education by Sex

Years Completed	NF	NM
7-11	9	14
0-6	7	13

Occupation

The investigator expected that males would more often mention matters pertaining to work as community problems than females. The basis for this expectation is the generally greater responsibility of the male for making a living in our society and the apparently increasing tendency to cite success in one's work as an indicator of personal success. This hypothesis is clearly supported by the data (Table 19) for whites with seven or more years of education (Chi-square significant beyond the .001 level) and apparently obtains for Negroes with 12 or more years of education. A test of significance was not performed in the latter case because of the small number of Negro females (N=4) with 12 or more years of education, although it is notable that none of them mentioned a community problem related to better occupational opportunities. In contrast, more than one-third of the Negro males in this category mentioned community problems related to occupation which they believed should receive attention of community leaders. It is also notable that 60 per cent of the ten white males with 13 or more years of education mentioned occupation in this respect, whereas none of the 16 white women with comparable educational backgrounds did so.

The expected relationship between males and females with reference to viewing occupational matters as community problems does not hold for Negro females with less than 12 years of education. Fifty-seven per cent of the Negro females with 6 or fewer years of education mentioned occupation, and 35 per cent of them with between 7 and 11 years mentioned it. This relatively high percentage of Negro females mentioning occupation as a community problem is indicative of the dilemma they face in trying to earn money to contribute to the economic support of their families in view of the less stable and less lucrative occupational opportunities for themselves and the Negro male. The occupational stress felt by Negro females with less than 12 years of education is further illustrated by the fact that they more often mentioned occupation as a problem than did white males with comparable educational attainment (Chi-square significant beyond the .001 level). This expressed concern is indicative of a need for providing increased occupational education services to lower educated Negro females and is particularly pertinent in view of the dearth of existing services directed toward preparing Negro females for gainful employment.

Table 19. Percentage Mentioning Occupation as a Community Problem by Race, Sex, and Level of Education

Years Completed	WF	WM	NF	NM
13 or more	0	60	0	33
12	11	18	0	43
7-11	10	25	35	59
0-6	20	18	57	50

For all respondents with less than 12 years of education, Negroes more often expressed concern over occupational matters than did whites (Table 20). Fifty per cent of the Negroes in this category mentioned occupation, whereas it was mentioned by only 18 per cent of the whites with comparable levels of educational attainment.

Table 20. Percentage of Respondents with Less Than 12 Years of Education Mentioning Occupation as a Community Problem by Race

	White (N=130)	Negro (N=106)
Did Mention	18	50
Did Not Mention	82	50

(Chi-square significant beyond the .001 level)

On the basis of the data in Table 14 and Table 19, one can conclude that occupational matters are of considerable concern to community residents with the exception of the higher educated females. A larger proportion of the white males with 13 or more years of education (6 out of 10) mentioned occupation as a community problem than any other category of respondents. The responses of these individuals were re-checked to determine the exact nature of their response and to determine whether they reflected a self-interest or a broader interest in the welfare of the community as a whole. Five out of the six referred to the need for further industrial expansion as a means of improving the overall economic situation in the community. The other respondent mentioned a problem directly related to his chosen occupation, and the action he proposed for community leaders would have been of direct benefit to himself. As a general rule, residents with lower status jobs and those hard pressed with making a living more often mentioned occupational matters which should receive the attention of leaders than those who were relatively secure financially.

Housing

Only minor differences are apparent in response tendencies by sex and level of education relative to the mentioning of housing as a community problem, except for the highest educated white males who more often cited it than highest educated white females (Table 21).

Table 21. Percentage Mentioning Housing as a Community Problem by Race, Sex, and Level of Education

Years Completed	WF	WM	NF	NM
13 or more	6	30	0	0
12	15	12	50	43
7-11	8	6	35	21
0-6	0	9	36	28

A major difference appears when response patterns are compared by race in Table 22. Negroes more often mention the need for more adequate housing than do whites (Chi-square significant beyond the .001 level), which again reflects the element of self-interest in the perception of problems which should be acted upon by community leaders. As a general rule, those who live in better houses are less prone to mention housing as a community problem than those who experience less desirable housing conditions personally. Negro families with less than 12 years of education most frequently mention housing as a community problem, and undoubtedly they live under less desirable housing conditions than the highest educated Negroes and white residents as a whole. None of the 8 Negroes with 13 or more years of education mentioned housing as a community problem.

Table 22. Percentage Mentioning Housing as a Community Problem by Race

	White (N=200)	Negro (N-123)
Did Mention	10	28
Did Not Mention	90	72

(Chi-square significant beyond the .001 level)

Civil Rights

The data in Table 23 indicate that mentioning of civil rights as a community problem is associated with high levels of educational attainment. Respondents with 12 or more years of education mentioned civil rights as a community problem significantly more often than respondents with less than 12 years of education (Chi-square significant beyond .001).

Table 23. Percentage Mentioning Civil Rights as a Community Problem by Race, Sex, and Level of Education

Years Completed	WF	WM	NF	NM
13 or more	19	20	50	50
12	7	12	100	43
7-11	8	6	0	7
0-6	0	0	0	10

Although the researcher had not predicted such a response pattern, the tendency of the higher status respondents to put community problems in rather abstract terms while lower status ones expressed them more concretely in terms of better jobs, better houses, better municipal services and facilities, etc., is consistent with literature in the area of social stratification (Webber, 1967). However, knowing what the respondents mean by the term "integration" and "civil rights" constitutes a more difficult problem of interpretation. The matter of Negro voter registration was not mentioned, and only one respondent, a white college professor, detailed a need for modifying present procedures of electing city and county officials in order to facilitate integration of city and county governments. For the most part, the 31 responses coded under "civil rights" refer to the generally disadvantageous socioeconomic situation of lower class Negroes or reflect apprehension concerning the possibilities of increased racial strife. Negroes more often mentioned the disadvantageous situation for members of their race, and whites were more likely to speak of the problem of race relations or "integration." Several whites clearly stated that local leaders should work for segregation rather than integration, but the exact proportion is unattainable because of the very general manner in which some interviewers recorded the responses. Whether the white respondent was for or against integration is not clear in several cases.

Negroes with 12 or more years of education more often mentioned problems in the area of civil rights than whites with comparable levels of educational attainment (Chi-square significant beyond .001). In summary, the mentioning of civil rights as a community problem which should receive the attention of community leaders is associated with high levels of education and occurs more often by Negroes than by whites. Apparently, the lower educated respondents are more likely to express community problems in terms of the need for better jobs, better housing, better education, better streets, etc.

Civic and Municipal Improvements

The need for civic and municipal improvements was mentioned more frequently than any other type of community problem which should receive the attention of community leaders (Table 14). Responses are also more diverse for this category than for any other and, for example, include matters such as the need for improving streets and roads; constructing or repairing curbs, sidewalks, and drainage ditches; improving downtown parking; providing increased recreational facilities and services; and controlling crime.

Respondents with 12 or more years of education mentioned civic and municipal improvements more frequently than did those with less than 12, but the difference is not statistically significant. Whites more often mentioned such problems than Negroes (Table 24). Apparently Negroes are more seriously concerned about such matters as more adequate jobs and housing. One other racial difference in response tendency is evident in that whites more frequently implied action by community leaders that would establish additional conveniences (e.g., free downtown parking) or ameliorate inconveniences (extend certain streets or repair them), whereas Negroes more frequently mentioned needs related to such matters as sewage, water annexation, and sidewalks.

Table 24. Percentage Mentioning Civic and Municipal Improvements by Race, Sex, and Level of Education

Years Completed	WF	WM	NF	NM
13 or more	50	50	50	17
12	56	35	0	57
7-11	32	48	39	21
0-6	30	41	36	33

(Chi-square significant beyond .001)

Other and No Response

Only 10 per cent of the sample listed community problems which could not logically be included in one of the above mentioned categories. The range of diversity is so great relative to these responses that no succinct statement about content is feasible. However, it is notable in view of the extensive coverage of tobacco marketing problems by mass media, that only two respondents mentioned problems pertaining to the tobacco industry.

Twenty per cent of the sample did not respond to the question under consideration. Table 25 indicates that no response is very highly associated with level of education in that the percentage of "no response" increases as level of education decreases.

Table 25. Percentage of Residents Who Did Not List a Community Problem

Years Completed	WF	WM	NF	NM
13 or more	13	10	0	17
12	19	18	0	0
7-11	30	19	17	21
0-6	30	27	14	23

Summary

A supplementary objective of this research project was to investigate community needs as they are perceived by a representative sample of community residents. The analysis of these perceived needs reveals differences according to level of education, race, and sex of respondents.

Males are more concerned over occupational circumstances in the community than females with the exception of Negro females with less than 12 years of education. The responses of these Negro females indicate their dilemma in contributing significantly to the economic maintenance of a family and suggest further analysis of occupational educational services in the community for relevance to their occupational situations.

A considerable degree of self-interest is manifest in the perception of community problems which should receive the attention and efforts of community leaders in that respondents tend to mention undesirable situations or circumstances which directly affect themselves. Hence, respondents apparently satisfied with their jobs and houses more frequently see the need for community leaders to work toward civic and municipal improvements, and respondents with lower levels of educational attainment and standards of living more frequently mention problems related to jobs and housing.

Relatively few respondents mentioned education as a community problem, and, contrary to expectations, the higher educated respondents did not mention educational matters more frequently than those with lower levels of educational attainment. None of the Negroes with 12 or more years of education mentioned education as a community problem; it was mentioned by 21per cent of the Negroes with less than 12 years of education.

Community Needs from the Viewpoint of Members of the Final Panel

The purpose of this section is to assess the views of selected persons, nearer to decision-making processes than typical residents, pertaining to major community needs and then to compare their views with those of the sample of community residents discussed above. Responses are not available from 14 of the 17 reputed power figures contacted through the mails in the last phase of interviewing (see page 31). In the interest of keeping the mail-out questionnaires brief in order to encourage a rapid response, the question of major community problems was not presented to the 17 persons who responded by mail. However, of the 17, three did mention community problems as a part of their general comments, and, consequently, resonses are available for 22 of the 36 reputed power figures listed in Table 5. Responses are available from all of the remaining 17 final panel members, resulting in a total N for the following analysis of 39.

Table 26 indicates the percentage of final panel members who mentioned community needs in each of six categories: (1) county government and taxes, (2) education, (3) occupation and new industry, (4) housing, (5) civic and municipal improvement, and (6) integration and civil rights. Column 1 indicates the responses of 22 of the 36 reputed power figures listed in Table 5 from whom relevant data are available; column 2 indicates the responses of the final panel members not listed among the 36 reputed power figures; and column 3 indicates the combined responses for all the final panel members for whom relevant information is available. Comparison of Tables 14 and 26 reveals differences in perception of major community needs between a selected group of positional and reputational leaders and a larger randomly selected sample of community residents.

Table 26. Percentage of Members of Final Panel Who Mentioned Community Problems by Category of Problems*

	I Reputed Power Figures (N=22)	II Remaining Panel Members (N=17)	III Total Panel (N=39)
1. County gov't. and taxes	68	41	56
2. Education	50	24	39
3. Occupation and industry	23	47	33
4. Housing	14	35	23
5. Civic and municipal improvements	14	18	15
6. Integration and civil rights	14	18	15
7. Other	27	31	31

*Categories are not mutually exclusive, and, therefore, percentages do not add to 100.

County Government and Taxes

Members of the final panel emphasized a problem not mentioned by a single member of the larger community sample. Fifty-six per cent of them and 68 per cent of those who qualify as reputed power figures mentioned the need for altering the county tax structure to eliminate unfair advantages of owners of rural property and to modify the method of electing county commissioners so that all seven commissioners could be elected on an at-large basis. These two "needs" are part and parcel of a more general feeling among the younger, more aggressive, urban-oriented element that the county government had become antiquated under the regime of the old guard, that the old guard or agrarian element commanded unequal and unfair representation on the Board of County Commissioners, and that several of the old guard maintained a low base for tax purposes in rural areas as a means of protecting the vested interests of themselves and their friends. Several persons commented that profit-making rural investment properties commanded less tax than modest dwelling places within the city limits of Central City, which to their way of thinking was unfair. On the other side, the agrarian, old guard element maintained that the existing tax structure was necessary to protect the farmer who, for a variety of reasons, was forced to accept smaller profits *vis-a-vis* rising costs. Several persons representing the agrarian element commented that higher taxes on the farmer would force many of them out of farming immediately.

The consequences of the concern of the more urban-oriented reputed power figures are indicative of the actual social power represented by reputed power figures. An action-oriented core of power comprised of several of the reputed power figures and their followers challenged the old guard agrarian element and succeeded in implementing a significantly higher tax base for farm property (higher than for any other county in the state). The increase was below the amount hoped for by the action-oriented core of power, and they immediately initiated action to help them obtain the level recommended by an outside appraisal firm. That the members of the reputational power pool constitute actual social power is further evidenced by the fact that currently all of the seven members of the Board of County Commissioners will be elected on an at-large basis, thus further decreasing the power of the agrarian, old guard element in county government decision-making processes.

Education

The second major concern among members of the final panel, as indicated in Table 26, is education. However, their concerns differ from those of the larger sample in that the matter of how to administer the three separate school units in Central County is paramount (i.e., Central City, Central County, and North City school units). Whereas respondents among the larger sample indicate a general need for good educational opportunities for everyone in their community or for themselves personally, members of the final panel are concerned over whether or not to consolidate the separate administrative units into one unit or otherwise alter the present system to institute overall efficiency and greater quality in the rural areas of the county. In short, the positional leaders and reputed power figures are more specifically encumbered with the problems of administrative efficiency, allocation of county funds, and meeting HEW guidelines for integration. The action to be taken by community leaders was not clearly delineated at the time fieldwork for this study was terminated.

Occupation and New Industry

The third greatest area of concern among panel members indicated in Table 26 is the matter of jobs and new industry. Without exception, respondents pointed up the expected benefits of further industrial diversification by enticing highly solvent companies into the county. It is notable that several panel members were careful to qualify the kind or type of new industry needed rather than just new industry *per se*. Many of them feel that neighboring communities have made unwise decisions in recruiting an industry which might be seasonal or financially weak or one which would employ a high proportion of unskilled labor at relatively low wages. It is also notable that some of the strongest advocates for new industry have balked at the prospect of new industry which would directly compete with their own business. Currently, the drive to attract desirable industry to the area is supported actively by several of the first level reputed power figures listed in Table 5. One of the first level figures is noted by his community associates as a pioneer in the efforts to attract new industry, and three more of them either serve or have recently served as members of the County Industrial Council--two of them as chairman. This latter point is another indication that persons reputed to be "powerful" in community decision-making processes constitute actual social power. They have reputations for power, and their activities clearly substantiate their reputations.

Housing

The need for low-cost housing constitutes the fourth major area of concern among the panel members. Whereas members of the larger sample, mostly Negroes in this case, expressed a need for better housing for themselves, members of the final panel indicated their concern for possible solutions to the problem of inadequate housing or at least ways to ameliorate it. Several of the final panel members have experience in construction, real estate, or financing, yet they voiced frustrations concerning a workable solution. A rather high degree of consensus exists among them that new low-cost housing is not feasible through private enterprise because of low rates of return on private capital. Urban renewal has worked successfully to provide adequate housing for some economically disadvantaged families in Central City, but currently adequate housing is one of the most pressing problems confronting the city commissioners and other relevant positional leaders. Strong feeling exist among some elements which deters the unequivocal use of federal funds to provide for adequate low-cost housing. Generally, the issue of low-cost housing is severely perplexing to positional leaders, and although many of the first level reputed power figures mention the needs in this area, they apparently prefer to remain aloof from the actual decision-making arena. Should a profitable way of replacing extant substandard housing be discovered, undoubtedly several of the higher level reputed power figures will become involved--not necessarily because of expectations of personal gain but because of the apparent formidability of the problem without the prospects of profit for private investors.

City and Municipal Improvements

Fifteen per cent of the panel members mentioned needs related to civic and municipal improvements. However, as above, their responses are more limited in scope than those for respondents of the larger sample. Without exception, the responses of panel members referred to the redevelopment of "downtown" Central City and the need for a civic center. Plans exist for the redevelopment of the downtown area, and some progress in this matter is evident. However, the civic center is currently in the early talking stage, and if reputational procedures are valid for predicting social action, an action-oriented core of power with a civic center as its major goal is shortly forthcoming. This prediction is based upon the reputational rank of the individual most interested in the prospects of a civic center for Central City and County.

Integration and Civil Rights

None of the final panel members are Negroes. The 6 out of 39 panel members who mentioned a need in this area simply pointed up a perplexing problem for the community. They offered no pat solutions nor stated any strong moral beliefs or convictions. Three of the six suggested better education for Negroes as one means of ameliorating the problems of integration and civil rights.

Other Needs

The twelve responses coded under "other needs" refer to the following: the reduction of welfare costs, labor for agriculture, an overall economic plan for the county (each mentioned by two panel members), and inflation, charity rackets, automation, arguments between rural and urban interests, the need for a larger number of youthful leaders, and the dangers of federal funds (each mentioned by one panel member).

Conclusion

In the first division of this chapter, community needs as perceived by a ramdom sample of 323 community residents are discussed. The last division focuses upon community needs as perceived by 39 members of the final panel, including 22 of the 36 reputed power figures listed in Table 5. A comparison of the two sets of responses yields several notable differences.

The more typical community residents comprising the randomly selected sample possess a very limited conception of power structures as these exist in their community. For the most part, the major problems in their community which should be receiving the attention of their leaders fall into the category of routine business which is transacted by positional leaders. This is particularly true of the white respondents in the sample, most of whom enjoy a relatively satisfactory style of living. The Negroes, particularly the lower educated ones, indicate needs which can not easily be satisfied through routine actions of positional leaders (e.g., jobs and housing), yet they look to positional leaders for help or to no one at all. They know that they need better jobs and houses, but they manifest very little understanding of how these problems might be solved (e.g., through bringing new industry to the area and through discovery of profitable means of constructing housing which the lower status Negroes can afford). Those among this group who can or will name leaders, as evidenced by the present study, identify several religious functionaries, a few Negro professionals, a few long-term or previous city and county commissioners, the mayor, and the city manager. The leaders identified by the community sample, including both white and Negro respondents, are mentioned very infrequently if at all by members of the final panel.

Only one person out of the sample of 323 residents, a college professor, mentioned the matter of revamping the method of electing county commissioners, whereas this matter along with revaluation of rural property for tax purposes was mentioned more frequently than any other among members of the reputational power pool (68 per cent). This example illustrates the point that community residents to a great extent are either unaware of or disinterested in the less routine and more critical decision-making processes within their community and in the individuals behind these processes.

Only 11 per cent of the sample of community residents mentioned educational matters as a major need within their community. These responses are very general and for the most part reflect broader societal values concerning education. In contrast, 39 per cent of the final panel and 50 per cent of the reputed power figures (Table 26) mentioned community needs in the area of education. Their responses focus upon the administrative aspects of structuring the public school systems for the county in the most efficient manner possible and in accordance with federal guidelines. Allocation of funds, the generation of new funds, and the matter of integration of schools are primary in their thinking. In these matters they receive very little support from the population as a whole (in some cases do not seek it) as evidenced by failure of county residents to accept a bond issue to help upgrade county schools. Reputational power figures are to some extent split over the best way to resolve their problems pertaining to public schooling. Some favor consolidation of city and county administrative units while several favor separate units, at least until the quality of the county schools is significantly upgraded. Exponents of the latter view advocate the implementation of a supplementary county school tax (the city has a supplementary tax and the county recently refused one at the polls) before entertaining the proposal to consolidate.

The whole area of the perception of community needs which should receive the attention of community leaders by a representative sample of community residents requires further investigation. For the most part, the data gathered for this study indicate a very superficial knowledge of critical issues before the community and of the individuals who are actively involved in the decision-making processes which resolve these issues. The question of what residents expect of positional leaders is an interesting and fruitful one for further investigation. This investigator became concerned at one point in the fieldwork over trying to ascertain the occupation of an individual who has held two different crucial positions (not concurrently) in city and county governments over the last several years. Several persons were contacted unsuccessfully for this information which ultimately was obtained from higher level reputed power figures. Not only are the expectations by residents of their positional leaders unclearly defined, in some notable cases they do not even possess knowledge of how positional leaders make a living. In short, this present study indicates a gulf between the activities and concerns of positional leaders and reputed power figures, and the perception of needs, the perception of persions responsible for satisfying them, and the perception of means by which needs may be satisfied among the larger base of community residents.

A CASE FOR SOCIAL ACTION

Summary

The research problem for this study is the delineation of salient features and characteristics of community power structures within a community manifesting a changing economic base and concomitant social changes. The stated objectives pertain to (1) the refinement and development of methods and techniques for the study of community power, (2) the development of a conceptual framework amenable to the problems of better understanding community power within the context of social change, and (3) the implications of the study for social action on the community level.

The initial step in the study was to review the relevant literature on methods of studying community power. Upon the basis of this review, the investigator decided that a combination of the reputational and event analysis methods would be most appropriate to the stated research problem. The second step was to conceptualize social power in such a way as to promote a better understanding of this phenomenon through empirical research. From academic lectures and literature, and upon the basis of new insights and the frustrations of trying to relate the abstract to the empirical, the investigator attempted a synthesis of several diverse but related concepts. The net result of this endeavor is the community power model depicted in Figure 4, page 21.

Following development of the conceptual framework and an interview guide, the initiation of fieldwork was accompanied by a certain ambivalence and mild anxiety as the investigator considered the matter of entering a community of strangers to begin probing the intricacies of decision-making processes and the private world of the men behind the decisions. The ambivalence and anxiety were soon alleviated by the receptiveness of the "strangers" but were supplanted by the perplexities of making sense out of a volcanic eruption of data received from over 70 persons in interviews averaging almost two hours in length. The earlier interviews were relatively short, but the accumulation of new information engendered new probes and, for the most part, the interviews becamse progressively longer with the continuation of fieldwork activities. Some persons such as public and private employees, rural farmers, miscellaneous school personnel, and retired businessmen were contacted for very specific purposes, such as for the illustration of a particular event, or in order to hear the other side of a dispute, or as a means of developing historical perspectives. In addition to personal interviews, data were gathered through attendance at various board and organizational meetings, from a vertical file in the city library, and from back and current issues of the local daily newspaper.

Tabulation and analysis of lists of names yielded a reputational power pool. The technique of matrix analysis in conjunction with the newly developed concepts of a "closed system" and "displacement index" facilitated the meaningful analysis of mention patterns among power figures and the illustration of shifts of power through time in a cross-sectional fashion.

Reputational data gathered by the investigator were compared to reputed tional data gathered by administration of a household survey instrument to a stratified area random sample of 323 community residents in connection with a larger parent project. The investigator expected more agreement between the two types of data than the comparison would support. Community residents tended to name only well-known positional leaders, who were in some cases not mentioned by a single member of the final panel of community knowledgeables and power figures.

An analysis of the general characteristics of power figures indicates that they are considerably more educated, hold more prestigious occupational positions, and more actively participate in formal activities than do white males of the larger sample of community residents. The responses of both power figures and community knowledgeables indicate shifts in power over time, and the analysis of several specific events further illustrates such change as well as the way power figures combine forces to attain superordinate goals in acts of power. Two products of the analysis of events and the tracing of acts of power from the perception of need to the attainment of superordinate goals are (1) the development of a processual model for the initiation and execution of social action and (2) the development of an empirical and logical case for the validity and utility of the concept of a reputational power pool.

Since acts of power begin with a perceived need according to the conceptual framework and supporting empirical data, a supplementary objective was to attempt a comparison of perceived needs between power figures and a more typical sample of community residents. The analysis yielded differential perception among the community residents by level of education, race, sex, and age of respondent, and differential perception of needs between community residents generally and power figures in particular.

Conclusions

The following conclusions are organized according to the sequence of the guideline research questions listed in the methodological section of this report. Since material relevant to these questions and some answers for them are discussed at length at appropriate points in the report, no attempt is made in each case to state how the conclusions were derived.

1. Does a reputation for power constitute actual power? The findings of this study definitely warrant the conclusion that a reputation for power constitutes actual power. Persons attain a reputation on the basis of past performance in acts of power, and 33 of the 36 individuals identified in this study as members of the reputational power pool were identified as members of specific cores of power during the course of the fieldwork. Virtually all of the 21 first level reputed power figures were identified as active participants in a specific core of power. Of the three men in the second level two could not be identified with a specific core of power, two were markedly older men and the other could easily be identified with cores of power in the relatively recent past. Due to the nature of most problems confronting the community, the single most feasible and productive criterion for soliciting a

person's participation in an act of power is his reputation as a successful power figure in past events. Event analysis revealed that first level reputed power figures were active in several institutionalized spheres concurrently; hence, their power ranged over a rather broad spectrum of community life.

2. Do shifts in power relations occur as the economic base changes? Several kinds of data gathered in this study warrant the conclusion that power relations have changed concomitantly with changes in the economic base. The relevant responses of power figures and community knowledgeables and the observations of the investigator through analysis of specific events indicate general changes marked by declining power among traditional, agricultural-oriented persons and increasing power among younger, more urban-oriented persons.

3. Upon what bases do persons in the community develop a reputation for power and, hence, attain membership in a reputational power pool? The findings of this study indicate that the reputational power pool exists and is maintained by major or modalistic value orientations among a public from which reputed power figures command respect. News travels rapidly through a network of formal and informal relationships among persons relatively active in community affairs. Contacts in secondary associations perform a vital function in the dissemination and critique of information relative to important events and their outcomes. It is these persons, by virtue of their interest in community affairs and their position in an extensive network of formal and informal relationships, who comprise the public from whom a reputed power figure commands respect.

Because of the existence of this pervasive network of relationships among a much broader and diverse base of persons than in the past, outright suppression or oppression of manifest and latent values among these persons for an extended period of time is impossible. The majority of this public assiduously seeks prominence in a predominately free-enterprise, capitalistic atmosphere, and monetary values are apparently paramount in a hierarchical arrangement of values including educational, humanitarian, and religious ones.

Persons qualify for membership in the reputational power pool because they are sensitive to modalistic strains of value orientations among a public of relatively active persons in community affairs and because they are capable of articulating values, goals, and norms in a manner acceptable to relatively large segments of such a public. The specific application of methods to problems by "experts" is a relatively minor aspect of social action which requires support from relatively large numbers of a public of interested persons in the community under consideration. Therefore, persons attain membership in the reputational power pool primarily because they constitute a successful bulwark of prevailing or developing values among their public, not because they represent specific occupational or professional expertise.

4. How do Negroes fit into the community power structures? This question requires more extensive discussion at this point because it is not specifically discussed in the larger body of this report. Five or six Negroes carry the major burden of leadership among the Negro population under consideration. These five or six men and a few others represent a kind of monolithic power structure within the Negro sub-community whose population is, for the most part, alienated from the mainstream of middle-class community life,

including that of the middle-class Negroes who represent the major power structure. There are open channels of communication between white and Negro power figures; however, penetration of white power structures so that Negroes participate in major community decision-making processes is limited at best. There are, undoubtedly, subtle barriers to such participation among white power structures, but perhaps the more important points are (1) the aging of top Negro power figures and the relative absence of a younger, lay generation local power potential; (2) the middle-class philosophy among both whites and Negroes of "live and let live"; and (3) a "cultural fix" among the Negro population which inhibits close alliance of Negro power figures with the white community. This latter point is illustrated by the situation of a highly articulate Negro physician who receives criticism from other Negroes for sending his children to an integrated school and who is reluctant to move to better facilities in a white clinic because such an action would be interpreted by his clientele as rejection of Negro people generally. The absence of a younger upcoming power base is related in part to alienation between older and younger Negroes. According to one prominent Negro spokesman, "They said that they will not return to Central City until there have been some funerals."

Outright suppression of Negro groups was not apparent during the course of the fieldwork for this study, but such was evidently the case during the 1930's when attempts to register Negroes at the polls met strong opposition. A Negro was elected to the City Board of Commissioners during the mid-1950's for two terms. During this time, a ward system was in effect, and since the time when this system gave way to one based on an at-large principle, no Negroes have been elected to the City Board. Some persons reported that the major reason for abolishing the ward system was to prevent Negroes from being elected to the City Board.

The investigator contacted several Negroes and visited Negro schools in an effort to ascertain feelings about white power structures and to detect outright forms of discrimination if these existed. No feelings of hostility or animosity were manifest among the Negroes contacted, and Negro schools appeared to have as good, and in some cases better, facilities as predominately white schools. Negro administrators assured the investigator that they received fair treatment from administrative boards charged with the responsibility of allocating funds and supplies. Some apprehension was manifest among Negro school personnel who felt that the status and responsibility of their jobs might be jeopardized by consolidation of schools. The lack of funds and support for schools generally is a greater problem than that of a disproportionate allocation of available funds and facilities.

In conclusion, another point relative to the relationship of white and Negro power figures warrants discussion. Prior to World War II, relationships between white and Negro power figures were a matter of (1) patronage on the part of aristocratic white power figures, who were socially immune from racially flavored problems, and (2) ingratiation on the part of Negro leaders who felt that their futures could best be served through such behavior. In this context, many high-level power figures were sympathetic to Negro problems and in a patronizing way made concessions for various Negro individuals and their families. However, following from the effects of increased pressures to achieve in an academic setting and to accept personal responsibility for success or failure there combined with outside imposed welfare concessions to collective aggregates of Negroes, there is developing an increasing antagonism toward concessions among the newer order of community power figures. As related previously, individualistic performance is currently more of a factor in power relations, and certain ascending power figures manifest a resentment toward "gifts to groups of Negroes or to anybody else." Several exponents of this developing philosophy believe that there is ample opportunity for individual Negroes to improve their positions in Central City, and they interject phrases into their conversation, such as "I pledge my support" and "No deserving Negro will be denied," and otherwise punctuate their conversation with words such as "fair," "right," and "just." There is reason for both hope and despair among both races in the ascension of a younger, urban-oriented element of power which purports to be a vanguard of the rights of individuals, regardless of color, and the increasing impatience of some Negroes to claim a larger portion of what they feel the economy can afford for them.

5. Do power figures and typical residents manifest similar perceptions of the major needs of their community? The findings of this study indicate that perception of needs varies by race, sex, age, and level of education among residents as well as between residents and power figures. The major conclusions warranted by the data are that (1) perception of community needs is characterized by rather marked degrees of self-interest, and (2) community residents manifest scant recognition of the kinds of issues which at the time commanded the attention of community power figures. The immediate and concrete "improvement" is more often emphasized among typical community residents, whereas power figures focus on longer-term problems of administration of community affairs and economic growth and development.

6. Why do some social action programs succeed while other fail? Expertise tends to be concentrated in the application of methods (i.e., procedures, techniques, and skills) to problems in an industrial society and, as evidenced in the current study, the early application of methods in social action is detrimental and may actually cause the action to fail. The greatest factor in the failure of action programs is the immediate application of methods to a problem without the articulation and cultivation of supportive values, norms, and specific objectives in the attainment of larger goals. The most successful programs, and all those confronting opposition, eventually succeed upon the basis of supportive values among a public who must in some way or another support the action.

7. What characteristics of power structures in the community tend to inhibit or facilitate changes in occupational education? "Occupational education" generally carries a negative connotation among power figures, as it tends to be associated with both academic underachievement and federal sponsorship. This investigator found that rapport was much more easily established with respondents following an introduction of himself from "State University" rather than from the "Center for Occupational Education." Part of the rapport problem can be attributed to unfamiliarity with the name of the "Center"; however, "federal sentiments" functioned more to inhibit rather than to facilitate rapport with community power figures, and this

point is indicative of their wider skepticism relative to federally sponsored programs.

The characteristics of power structures which tend to facilitate changes in occupational education are (1) monetary values which will support any kind of program adjudged to be beneficial to the economic growth and development of the community and (2) a high proportion of high ranking power figures among those persons most interested in attracting new industry to the area. A third point of potentially notable significance for the longer term is the ascension of some working-class men into the upper echelons of community power.

Occupational Education and Social Action

The findings of this study hold several implications for social action relative to occupational education. First, the potential for initiation, legitimation, diffusion, and execution of social action exists in the community. There exists a viable power base from which action-oriented cores of power are continuously emerging in efforts to obtain superordinate goals articulated upon the basis of perceived need. Superordinate goals are ones which cannot be attained outside of collective effort, i.e., they are "out of reach" of one man acting individually. Perceived needs are states of dissatisfaction with things as they are and images of how these dissatisfactions may be ameliorated. Relative to the improvement of occupational education, the prerequisite for successful social action is the initiation of an action idea by someone or a small group of persons who are dissatisfied with the current status of occupational education in their community and who manifest an image of how the status of occupational education can be improved.

Given the principles of social action demonstrated repeatedly in the community and in this report, new and innovative programs in occupational education should be executed on the basis of a new structure of power relations developed for the specific objectives and goals of the action. This means establishing support for the program "from the ground up" rather than tacking new responsibility on an existing structure developed for another set of goals. The example of the failure of the effort to attain a supplementary school tax for county school illustrates the futility of trying to "fit a need" to an existing structure of power relations. Persons who were not dissatisfied with the current school tax situation had no image of the potentiality of the benefits from money generated by an increase in taxes. The inactivity of several standing committees in the community also demonstrates the futility of trying to "fit a need" to existing structures. Committees should be dissolved as soon as the larger goals for which they were originated are attained. To try to encourage an existing structure to commit itself totally to a new "problem" rather than to allow a new structure to arise out of the articulation of a perceived need is to unnecessarily fetter the success of social action.

Secondly, there must be supportive values among persons other than power figures per se. This point entails the articulation and cultivation of supportive values among a relatively broad base of the community in general and among persons for whom the program is developed in particular. The more common temptation is to immediately attempt to implement new programs designed by experts who supposedly know the needs of the immediate beneficiaries. This leads to the premature application of specific procedures and techniques to the attainment of nebulous goals for which no local core of power exists and for which supportive values have not been cultivated. The latter approach is perhaps too typical of many federally sponsored programs which prove to be costly and fail to demonstrate their intrinsic utility to an observing public. The major implication is that there is no amount of money which will insure the success of innovative occupational education programs without the awareness and acceptance of the purpose for it among both the broader base of the population who have to pay for it and the persons for whom the program is intended.

Currently, in the community under consideration, there is no manifest supportive value system for lower status occupational education either among those who would have to legitimize it or among those expected to benefit from it most--the economically disadvantaged. There exists among the economically disadvantaged the perception of needs for better houses and jobs but little or no perception that occupational education could make possible the attainment of such goals. Until this latter point can be articulated and accepted by economically disadvantaged peoples, attempts to impose an education upon them can produce only limited success. Also, another relevant point concerning the value of education among certain segments of the population is that there apparently exists a credibility gap between young men and school administrators in general. This is especially relevant in view of the fact that most occupational educational programs are designed for young men. The major implication of this point in relation to the findings of this study is that the concept of occupational education will have to induce "fresh" thoughts of education to replace earlier, less pleasant educational experiences among boys who did not, or who cannot achieve success under current educational programs.

Third, the norms which govern the allocation and expenditures of public monies should be widely recognized and accepted among interested persons in the community. Because these norms are not understood in some cases and because of reports of inefficiency connected with federal programs, many persons in the community under consideration exhibit anti-federal feelings which tend to inhibit the success of federally sponsored occupational educational programs.

In summary, the potential for successful social action relative to occupational education exists within the community. However, in order to insure the success of such programs, perceived needs should be cultivated from a "grass roots" or student level as well as among power figures, and a core of power should be developed for the explicit purpose of working to attain the broader goals of the program. Supportive values should be cultivated among both the immediate intended beneficiaries and a broader base of interested persons. The norms by which the program will be governed should be well understood and accepted among the relevant public who, in the present case, are more receptive to the norms of capitalistic enterprise than those of federal sponsorship. Support for a federally sponsored program could be generated if the objectives and goals of the program were sufficiently specific, and especially if relevant power figures could perceive the benefit of such a program to the continued economic growth and development of their community.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The data pertaining to both perception of the identity of power figures among the larger sample of community residents and difference in perceptions of needs between the residents and power figures warrant further investigation. In the present study, residents among the larger sample either could not or would not identify important power figures, and they appear to lack a realistic perception of the means through which some of their problems might be solved.

The investigator generally accepts the adequacy of the conceptual framework and the community power model, both relative to the objectives of the study and as a reasonable statement of how and why power is structured and exercised. Data evolved out of this study concerning the functions of interstitial secondary associations indicated in the community power model, but time commitments did not permit this information to be included in this report.

Otherwise, the concepts of some important sources of power (i.e., aspirations, qualifications, role set, and station) present an awesome research problem. The concepts of role set and station are relatively abundant in sociological literature and are rather easily illustrated in an abstract fashion. However, the investigator found them unmanageable as concepts denoting sources of power in an empirical situation, even in limited illustrative ways. Role set is especially dynamic, and its explanatory potential for this study is precluded. Apparently, the most important aspect of the articulation of role is whether or not the person articulating the role of another is the other's mutual, personal friend. A "friend" is permitted considerable deviation from expectations; however, persons who are not personal friends of the incumbent role tend to manifest strong negative reactions to such deviation. The potential utility of these concepts in relation to the study of power structures warrants their further consideration in empirical research. In addition to the management problems related to the concepts of role set and station, no objective techniques for ascertaining aspirations and their significance as a source of power were developed for this study, although such techniques appear to the investigator to be feasible and lucrative.

Furthermore, the concepts of suggestive and coercive power did not function to differentiate between generic types of power in this study because of the very limited amount of evidence denoting involvement in an act of power against one's will. Respondents were evasive when asked to answer whether or not they participated in an act of power against their will. Apparently, however, the majority of persons become involved in acts of power willingly at the suggestion of the persons or persons who articulate the needs relative to superordinate goals. The extent to which persons actively participate in acts of power against their will--for example, to protect their occupational position or as an act of reciprocal ingratiation--warrants further investigation.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLING DESIGN FOR SAMPLE OF COMMUNITY RESIDENTS

The following sampling plan was executed by Lynn E. Ondrizek, Field Survey Coordinator, Project II, Occupational Education for Areas in Social and Economic Transition, under the direction of Professor Donald W. Drewes, Research Psychologist for Project II. The following description of the sampling design was written by Mr. Ondrizek.

Purpose

To establish an empirically valid master plan for a probability sample of the occupied dwelling units in Central County, North Carolina.

Primary Reference

Monroe, John and A. L. Finkner. 1959. Handbook of Area Sampling. Chilton Co., New York.

Summary

The first requirement for a probability sample of any nature is the establishment of a frame. A frame is a collection of sampling units which may be unambiguously defined and identified. Within the frame of this study are all of the occupied dwelling units (ODU's) in Central County as determined by the 1960 census enumeration and a 1966 household survey conducted by the Division of Community Planning, Department of Conservation and Development of North Carolina.

Three levels of stratification were used in this sampling plan: (1) Urban zone--places of 2,500 inhabitants or more incorporated as cities, boroughs, and villages; (2) Rural Place zone--all incorporated places less than 2,500 in population and unincorporated places of 1,000 to 2,500 in population defined by the 1960 census; and (3) Open Country zone--the residual area in Central County not defined as Urban or Rural Place.

These three levels of stratification were plotted on 1966 land use maps and N. C. Highways Commission maps of Central County. The stratifications were further sub-divided largely along boundaries established for 1960 Census Enumeration Districts (ED's). Through consideration of the purpose of the survey and the characteristics of the observation units, these sub-divisions are further reduced to area sampling units so that the expected number of observation units (ODU's) per area sampling unit was approximately 4.0000.

In tabularizing our data for Central County, dividing the number of ODU's in each stratum by 4, the expected size of the area sampling units yielded the number of sampling units in the county by stratum.

Table 27. Adjusted Allocation of the Universe and Sample Units to the Strata in Central County.

Stratum	Number of Sampling Units	Sampling Rate	Number of Sampling Units in Sample
Urban	2000	1/50	40
Rural Place	200	1/50	4
Open Country	1500	1/50	30
Totals	3700		74

An adjusted allocation was made by rounding the number of sampling units in the original allocation to the nearest 50 units in order to conform with a sampling rate of 1 in 50; i.e., the application of the 1/50 sampling rate allowed exactly an integral number of sampling units to be drawn in each stratum. Table 27 shows this adjusted allocation and the number of sampling units drawn by stratum.

All 3700 sampling units were coded, then 40 were drawn at random for the Urban stratum, 4 were drawn at random for the Rural Place stratum, and 30 were drawn at random for the Open Country stratum. Our sample is thus comprised of 2 per cent of the total number of sampling units (74/3700), and in terms of ODU's in sampling units of expected size 4.000, we will attempt to contact 296 ODU's in which we will interview one person per ODU, or 296 people. We expect a certain amount of variance around this figure due to changes in the county residential patterns since 1960, unwillingness on the part of some respondents contacted to participate in the survey, and errors within our data concerning the composition of the area samples, especially in Central City which has been growing steadily since our data was compiled. However, we anticipate that this variance will be well within the confines of that which allows this previously field-tested procedure to be a valid sampling plan adequate for our purposes.